

the numbers of foe turned back without fighting. Šādiq K. was keeping the stream in front of him, and observing the jugglery of the heavens. A large body of the enemy attacked him. He stood firm and used guns and muskets. By the Divine aid victory showed her countenance. Many of the wicked (enemy) were killed, and much plunder was obtained. Among this were forty chosen elephants. Of the victorious army none were killed except some obscure men.

On the 18th Qulīj K. came to court. He came to make his excuses as he had not managed well in Tīrāh, and H.M. had not approved of him. On the 23rd Husain Beg, S. 'Umrī was sent off to Bangash, and the development of that country and the punishment of the Tārīkīs were made over to him. At this time a choice ship was made. On the first¹ occasion there had been much difficulty in launching on account of the deficiency of water. It occurred to H.M. that it should be built on the top of a large boat which could carry 15,000 *mans* and more, and it was easily brought to the station. It was begun on 24 Tīr and finished on the 28th Āzar. Its length was 37 yards. Rs. 16,338 were spent on it. It was safely conveyed to Bandar Lāhārī. The spectators were astonished.

On 5 Dai Māmā Aghā² died. She was the widow of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., and had led a good life. As she was related to Miriam Makānī H.M. went in the morning to her (Miriam-Makānī his mother) holy abode and administered consolation. From hence he crossed the Rāvī and came to the Ahūkhāna (Deer-Park). He intended to spend the night there. He³ hurt his hand somewhat, and returned to the city. On the 11th he sent Shāham K. back to Qanauj and gave him valuable instructions.

One of the occurrences was the submission of Lacsmī⁴ Narain.

¹ I think this must refer to the ship that was previously built. See *ante*.

² The Maasir calls her Bābā, not Bābū as in B. 333. Āghā: I.O. MS. 236 has Pāpā Āghā. We know that Shihābu-d-dīn was related to Māham Anaga. Apparently he was her son-in-law, and Māmā Āghā may have been her daughter.

³ Text *dast-i-mubārik*, "his blessed arm," but the word *mubārik* does not occur in the MSS.

⁴ Cf. Gait's Koc kings of Kāmārūpa, J.A.S.B. for 1893, p. 284, and Blochmann's contributions. In the Āīn, J. II. 117, it is said that the ruler of Kūc has 1,000 horse and 100,000 infantry.

He was the ruler of Kūc (Bihar). It has 4,000 horse, 200,000 infantry, 700 elephants, and one thousand war-boats. It is a populous country: its length is 200 *kos*, and its breadth 40 to 100 *kos*. On the east is the river Brahmaputra, on the north is Lower Tibet and Assam, and on the south Ghorāghāt. On the west is Tirhut. A hundred¹ years before this a pious woman was praying in the temple of Jalpesh²—which is dedicated to Mahādev—and prayed for a son who should become a ruler. By God's help she became pregnant and bore a son. He received the name of Bīsā³ and obtained the government of that country. His grandson Māl Gosain possessed much enlightenment, and was adorned with excellent qualities. By virtue of spiritual senses he got some idea of the greatness of H.M. and composed an address in praise of the *Shāh-inshāh* and sent it together with choice goods to the sacred court. He always gathered auspiciousness by supplications (to Akbar). He lived in a disengaged manner, and refrained from marriage. At fifty years of age he nominated his brother's son the Pātkunwar as his successor. His eldest⁴ brother *Shukl-gosain* expressed a wish that he (Māl Gosain) should marry, and the latter out of love to him consented. He had a son to whom he gave the name of Lacmī Narain. When he

¹ B.M. MSS. 27247 and Or. 1116 have 500 years, and the Lucknow ed. has 15! The B.M. MSS. also have a different reading after the word Jalpesh, to the effect that Jalpesh or Jales is the same as Mahādeo in India.

² Jales in text. See I.G. s.v. Jalpesh.

³ *Bashnu* in text. The variant *Bīsū* is preferable. See the story in Gait, l.c. 284, who writes the name as *Bīsū*. The Gaur Pāsha referred to at pp. 291 and 297 seems to be 'Īsā K. and not Dāūd.

⁴ So A. F. says, but the local authorities say that *Shukl-gosain* or *Sukladhvaj* was the younger brother and had the title of *Sīraraī*. A. F.'s words might be taken to mean that

it was *Shukl-gosain* who married and had a son, but probably this is not the meaning. The Pātkumar was *Raghū Deva*. Perhaps we should read *babuzurg* and translate "he showed to his elder brother a desire to marry, and the latter consented. The B.M. MSS. and the I.O. 236 call the son Lacmī Narain. Māl Gosain seems to be another name for Narain. With reference to the suggestion above about A. F.'s meaning, it should be observed that the words used are "*khwāhish-i-kan khudāi namūd*," and that these words are used at p. 732, line eleven, to mean that another person should do a thing, e.g. Prince Salīm invited, *khwāhish namūd*, Ganga Rīshī to visit Akbar.

died, the kingdom came to him (Lacmī Narain). The Pātkunwar raised the head of rebellion, and by the help of 'Isā had some success. At this time Lacmī Narain petitioned H.M. and through Rajah Mān Singh requested that he might be associated with eternal dominion. The Rajah (Mān Singh) hastened from Salīm-nagar to Anandapūr (?). Lacsīmī Narain received him at a distance of forty *kos*. On 13 Dai they embraced on horseback ¹ (?) and there was a banquet of friendship. Afterwards the Rajah went to his quarters, thinking that he would then treat the chief with honour. On the way he observed that the latter was distressed and so he dismissed him with respect. After some time he (the chief) gave ² his sister to the Rajah.

717 The ruler of Kūc did not pay his respects to the Hākīm (governor) of Bengal, and Sulaimān Kararānī proceeded to make war upon him, and returned after failure.

At this time Multan was given in fief to the Khān Ā'zim. As he wanted to make amends for his former misconduct (in going to Mecca) he asked to have a fief near the court. His request was granted. On the 26th Rai Rai Singh was admitted to an audience. One of his favourite servants practised ³ oppression. H.M. called for an explanation. That wicked one was for some time excluded from performing the *kornish* as he kept the matter concealed and reported that the servant had fled. H.M. now remembered his former graciousness to him and sent him to the Deccan. Sorath was included in his fief with the idea that he might awake from his somnolence, and redeem his misconduct. That slumbrous-witted one remained some time in his home in Bīkānīr, and some time he spent on the road. Though counsels were given to him, they were not effectual. Ṣalāḥu-d-dīn was sent to him to tell him that if he did not hasten to his employment, he should return to court. He was obliged to come, and as he had no proper answer to give for his waywardness,

¹ *Suwāra*, but B.M. MS. 27247 has *dar suwārī* in an equipage and Or. 1116 has *suwārī*.

² The Vamsāvali says, the Kūc Bihar chief gave his daughter to Akbar. A. F. does not expressly say that the sister was given in marriage

to Mān Singh, and would a Rājput marry a Koch?

³ See B. 358 where it is said that the servant complained of Rai Rai Singh. The text, however, does not, I think, say this nor does the Ma. asar II. 152.

he was for some time not granted permission to appear at court. On this day his bewilderment was forgiven, and he was allowed to perform the *kornish*. The star of his fortune shone anew. On the 29th the rank of M. Shāhrukh was increased. A grant of land (*tankhwāh*) was made to him on the scale¹ of 5,000 personality and half that number of (extra) troopers. Ujjain and other choice places of Mālwa were taken from Shahbāz K. and included in Shahrukh's fief. And as he was with the army of the Deccan, Amīr Kalān Badakhshī was sent (to Mālwa) to restrain the agents of the former jāgirdār (Shahbāz K.).

At this time each day of the week was assigned to a particular task. The sovereign always walked warily and kept an account (*awāranawīsī*) of his life. In accordance with the increase of business he every now and then made a fresh division. On 4 Bahman he fixed Sunday for the inspection of horses, Monday for the inspection of the camels, mules and bullocks. Tuesday for inspecting soldiers, Wednesday for the business of the Viziership, Thursday for dispensing justice, Friday for receiving the good, Saturday for the elephant-stables. The works mentioned were first performed and then others were done. On the 5th Rai Rai Singh was sent to the Deccan. Perhaps he would make amends for his misconduct and get fresh honour. On the 7th Rānā Kīkā² died. Apparently Umrā, his wicked son, poisoned his food. He had also hurt himself in bending a stiff bow.

¹ See Irvine, A. of M., pp. 5, 6; and B. 238. As Shahrukh's extra troopers were half the number of his *manṣab* he belonged to the second class of the 5,000 division. The jagirs were taken away from Shahbāz as a punishment for misbehaviour at Aḥmadnagar.

² Text Khankār, but it really is

the famous Rāna Pratāp or Kīkā of Udaipūr. Tod says nothing about Umrā's poisoning his father, and the story is probably quite untrue. The *Iqbāl-nāma* also refers to the story. It gives his name as Rānā Kīkā. Perhaps Khankār is Kahnkār "the old Rānā."

CHAPTER CXXX.

VICTORY OF THE IMPERIALISTS AND DEFEAT OF THE DECCANĪS.

On account of the affair of Aḥmadnagar and the dissensions¹ (among the imperialists), the Deccanīs fell into evil thoughts. They did not open their eyes to daily-increasing fortune, and set their hearts upon fighting. Prince Sultān Murād formed the idea of giving battle, but the officers were critical and did not agree to this. A confidential meeting was held, and they sate down to consider how
718 things should be remedied. M. Shahrukh was chosen as the leader, and the Khān-khānān obtained leave to command many brave men. Treasure, elephants and artillery were also properly arranged for. They relied on the Divine aid and drew up in battle array. In the centre were M. Shahrukh, the Khān-khānān, M. ‘Alī Beg, S. Daulat, I’tibār K., Wafādār K., Afzal Tulakcī, Sher Afkan, Mīr Sharīf Gilānī, Muḥammad K., ‘Alī K., Mīr Nizām, Qādir Qulīkoka, Islām K., Mīr Quṭb-ud-dīn, Mīr Muḥammad Amīn Mandūdī, Hazāra Beg, Mīr Tūfān, Mīrak Beg, ‘Alī Qulī, Sā‘id Guāliyārī and others.

(Here follow long lists of names).

With devout hearts and high courage they marched from Shāhpūr towards the enemy and chose Ashtī 12 *kos* from Pāthri as the battle-field. The enemy also arranged their forces and sought for battle. The Nizāmu-l-Mulk’s soldiers were in the centre. ‘Ādil khānān on the right wing, the Qutbu-l-mulk army on the left
719 wing. On the 28th Bahman, 8 (?) February 1597, when a watch of the day had passed, they crossed the river Ganges (the Godavery) and set their hearts on battle. The battle began with the Ūqlīs (archers?) on the right wing, and Sher Khwāja performed wonders. The enemy had taken up a strong position and stood firm. They used their firearms and did not move. Active men came out on every side and fought. At the close of the day there was a great

¹ The ‘izāfat in text after *shorush* is wrong.

engagement, and brave men became intermingled. On account of the numbers of the enemy and their abundant firearms many lost the foot of courage. Jagannāth with some men, and Rai Durgā and Rāj Singh and other Rājput leaders, drew their rein and kept their ground. The 'Ādilkhānīāns attacked the ruler of Khandes. He stood firm and bravely fell. Thirty-five noted men, and 500 servants, gave up their lives in his company. M. Shāhrukh, the Khān-khānān and M. 'Alī Beg drove off the enemy in front of them and became spectators of the jugglery of fortune. Saiyid Qāsim and other warriors also prevailed over their opponents. The enemy thought that the ruler of Khāndes was in the centre and that his death involved the defeat of M. Shāhrukh and the Khān-khānān. On that dark night the opposing forces separated and stood still. Both thought¹ they had won and mounted their horses. Many who had fled out of fear returned. The leaders of the army thought that Rajah 'Alī K. had joined the enemy, or had retired. On this account they plundered his quarters. Dwārikā Dās in the vanguard, and Saiyid Jalāl on the right wing, nobly played away their brief lives. Rām Cand, who had fought strenuously on that day, received twenty wounds in Rajah 'Alī K.'s army and lay on the ground. On that night he was mingled with the elect. On the morning he was lifted up and taken to a house.² After some days he died. In the morning, although the victorious army was 7,000 strong, and the enemy 25,000, they gave their minds to battle. As the whole night they had suffered from thirst they hurried towards³ the river. The

¹ It would be better sense if the meaning were, both sides doubted if they were victorious, and perhaps the words of the original will bear this meaning.

² Rām Chand was a Chohān, and not a Deccanī, so it could not be his own house that he was taken to. There is a notice of him in Maasir U. II. 138.

³ *Daryā sū gām bardāshtand*. Professor Dowson, Elliot's History of India, VI. 96, has made one word of *sū* and *gām* and calls the river—the

Sūgām. But I do not find this river in Hyderabad, and I think that *gām bardāshtand* means "they hurried," literally "lifted their places." Blochmann, p. 336, says, Ferishta has "near Sūpā" but the leading account of the battle of Āshtī is in Ferishta's description of Akbar's 41st year, and I do not find Sūpā mentioned there.

H. B.

Daryā sū = *Sū-i-Daryā* = towards the river. (A. SUHRAWARDY, *Phil. Secy.*).

enemy, who were in two minds, thought of fighting on seeing this inopportune movement, but after a short contest they took to flight. Many of them were slain. Ankas K., Mīān Zainu-d-dīn, Haibat K., Sharīf K., Sarkash K., Bhīlun K., Sarmast K., Rūmī and other leaders of the 'Ādilkhānīs were killed. Shams^heru-l-Mulk, 'Āzīu-l-Mulk, Dilpat Rai, Yāsīn K., Azhdar K., of the Nizamu-l-Mulkīs, were killed. Ikhlāṣ K., Tāhīr K. and some others of the Qutbu-l-Mulkīs were killed. As the victorious troops were wearied with the long fighting they did not pursue the enemy, but remained where they were and returned thanks. Though the enemy were more than 60,000 horse, and the imperial servants 15,000, a great victory was obtained by God's help, and high and low¹ were astonished. Forty chosen elephants and a park of artillery were taken.

720 Next day Rajah 'Alī was recognised on the battle-field, and his body was taken up. The evil-thoughted and the foolish talkers were ashamed. The understanding of the story of a battle is like that of the blind men and the elephant. Every one relates it differently. He who knows about both armies is not to be found, and each party has a confused knowledge. It is better to stop contented with what has been said.

¹ Text *gaurān*, but the word should be *kūrān*. The story of the elephants and the blind men is a well-known apothegm, and is told in Mill's History of India. A. F.'s account of the battle should be compared with Ferishta and Faizī Sirhindī. The battle lasted two days. The account in Noer's Akbar II, trans. II. 337 *et seq.*, should be consulted. A. F. evidently has said as little as he could about the Khānkhānān's victory. It was Suhail the Abyssinian who commanded the Deccanīs on the 2nd day, and it was his being wounded which decided the day. See B. 336. I do not know the source of the story about Daulat K.

Ferishta's account is that the imperialists broke the treaty that had

been made on the retreat from Aḥmadnagar by plundering Pātrī and other places outside of Birār. On this account Suhail, who was 'Ādil Shāh of Bījapūr's general and was returning from Aḥmadnagar—whither he had gone to help Chand Bibī—attacked the Moguls and fought the great battle of Ashtī. On the first day he was victorious, but on the second he was defeated by the Khān-khānān. After this Murād and his guardian Ṣādiq wanted the Khān-khānān to proceed against Aḥmadnagar. He objected on the ground that it was necessary to take other forts. They complained to Akbar and he recalled him, but afterwards was fain to reappoint him.

At this time Zain Koka was sent off to Kabul. As Qulij K. had not managed Afghanistan well, this chosen servant was sent there after receiving valuable instructions. Kabul was made his fief, and the jāgīrdārs there were enjoined to act under his orders. On the 6th (Isfāndarmaz) the festival of the lunar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a time of rejoicing, and high and low enjoyed¹ themselves.

¹ Text has '*ashratnāma*, a letter of rejoicing, but I.O. MS. 236 has '*ash-ratmaya* which is more probable.

CHAPTER CXXXI.

BEGINNING OF THE 42ND YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE
YEAR SHAHRIYŪR OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

The sound of Spring took the world with delight, and the breeze of joy brought the disposition of youth. The world's lord (the Sun) gave a new form to Divine worship, and by the call to prayer furnished ornamentation to the Spring.

Verse.

Time gave colour and fragrance to Spring.
It put a nosegay into hand of wish.
It made over the garden to the night-breeze.
The plain ¹ of Tibet and the Spring of Kashmīr.

On the eve of Friday, 2 Shābān 1005, 11 March 1597, after the passing of 3 hours, 12 minutes, the light-giver of creation arrived at the house of his exaltation. The sky rose up to paint and the earth sate to be painted. On 6 Farwardīn Himmat Singh, the son of Raja Mān Singh, died. He was distinguished for courage and management. He died of diarrhoea, and the Kachwāha tribe fell into grief. The affectionateness of H.M. administered balm and produced some resignation in them. On the 9th, Ṣādiq K. died. After the victory he was with Prince Sultān Murād in Shāhpūr. The latter commanded, and ruled well with the help of his service. In ² everything he did he never ceased to do what was proper. Diarrhoea ended in dysentery, and he yielded up his breath with gaspings. A remarkable thing was that some time before this the Khan Ā'zim saw him in this condition in a dream. On the 17th H.M. enjoyed a banquet at Khawājahgī Fath Ullah's. Suddenly some rue was burnt in

¹ Apparently, the allusion is to Tibet as the fragrant land of musk.

² The author of the *Iqbāl-nāma*

praises him for his abilities, but says he was unequalled for hypocrisy and trickery.

the face of fortune. Fire seized the preparations for the New Year feast and the flames went from the court-yard to the holy mansion. Apparently, a spark from the royal bedchambers set fire to an awning,¹ and then there arose a conflagration. Efforts were made for several days to extinguish the fire.² H.M. had no mind this year for such a feast. His whole idea was to visit Kashmīr. A remarkable thing was that there was a similar fire in the quarters of Prince Murād (in the Deccan).

¹ *Tanābī* = *tanbī*. See Vullers and Bihar 'Ajam s.v. Apparently, the *tanābī* was a large, temporary building open on all sides (Elliot VII, 204). The *Iqbāl-nāma* calls it *bāngāh*. The Jesuit fathers have the word "*tentorium*," and describe it as belonging to Prince Selīm. They say the fire extended from it to the Palace, and destroyed brick-buildings and Akbar's throne.

² The fire is described by Faizī Sirhindī. He says it began on Sunday 17 Shābān at one watch of the day remaining (26 March 1597) in the great tents in the courtyard. The *farāshes* were atop, and flung themselves down. Akbar was then, according to custom, visiting *Khawājā-gī* Faṭḥ Ullah. Maclagan, J.A.S.B. for 1896, says the Jesuits' account is that the fire came from heaven. But the Annual Letter for 1597 (Naples 1607), which seems to be the General's source, does not say what was the origin of the fire, though there is a reference to the Divine Providence. The words, for which I am indebted to my brother, are—"Cum sacro resurgentis Christi die in area quae est ante Regiam, magnâ procerum manu stipatus inambularet, repentino incendio, Principis filii tentorium, quod pretiosissimâ gazâ instructum juxta

Regiam obtendabatur, correptum est." Easter Day, 1597, seems to have been on 6 April whereas A. F. seems to give the date of 26 or 27 March. Perhaps a difference of styles explains the discrepancy. General Maclagan says the bad news that came was of Murād's defeat at Aḥmadnagar, but the original letter does not mention Murād, and his repulse belongs to the 40th year, up to February 1596, or more than a year before the fire. What the letter must refer to is the bloody battle, called a victory by A. F., of *Ashtī* of 27 January 1597 in which Rajah 'Ālī K. and many distinguished officers were slain. A. F. refers to the fire as "*rue*" *sipand*, meaning that it was a means of averting the evil eye. Faizī Sirhindī speaks of the fire as lasting two days and a night. He speaks of it as a very great fire and says nothing like it had occurred before except once when in M. Kām-rān's time a fire was caused by the anger of a darvesh. Here it may be noted that Maclagan speaks of the church at Lahore's having been opened in September 1597, but what the letter says is that Divine service was held in it four years previously, viz. on 7 September, 1593.

Next day there was an illumination on the same place, and the feast of the Sharf (culmination) took place. Qulij K. was raised to the rank of 4,500, and Ism'aīl Quli to 4,000. M. Jānī Beg and Shāh Beg were raised to 3,500. Far and near, high and low received suitable favours.

CHAPTER CXXXII.

THIRD EXPEDITION OF H.M. TO KASHMĪR.

H.M.'s idea was that, before¹ proceeding to Agra, he should first offer up prayers in that land of abundance to the Incomparable Creator. As on every other occasion, great and small sought to restrain him from this. Some represented that the victorious troops were contending with the Deccanīs. How then could it be suitable for the Shāhinshāh to march to Kashmīr? Though the inward vision of the world-adorned had tested them, yet from conventional motives he remained silent until, suddenly, the news came of victory. This gave support to his design, but still, in order to respect their feelings, there was some delay in his departure, and orders were given for the celebrations (of the New Year). Those illuminations enkindled his wishes, and on the eve of the 21st (Farwardīn²) after two hours of the evening he set off, and reposed in the Dilawez³ Garden. The brows of the foreheads of the hearts of the conventional were wrinkled, while the farsighted sate in expectation of the appearance of hidden knowledge.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Prince Sultān Daniel to Allahābad. Inasmuch as the exaltation of dutiful children waters the rose-garden of sovereignty, this jewel of the Caliphate was sent off on this night. He received the rank of Hafthazārī (7,000) both personal (*zāt*) and in troopers (*suwār*). He also received fiefs there. Qulīj K., Ism'aīl Qulī, Mīr Sharīf Āmulī and many others accompanied him. The first of them was made Atālīq. They were presented with robes of honour, choice horses, and had their rank

¹ That is, before removing his capital to Agra.

² About 1 April, 1597. Xavier and Benedict Goes must have left after Akbar, for Xavier says they left Lahore on 13 May.

³ Faizī Sirhindī describes this garden. Akbar had it made by Khwājahgī Muḥammad Husain.

increased. The weak in that quarter had new tidings of tranquillity. Many valuable counsels were bestowed. A few of them are here written down.

722 First: men should try to clarify their thoughts, and should reduce them into action. In eating, clothing, sleeping, and walking, they should seek to increase wisdom, and not the fattening of the body, or pleasure. In governing, the idea should be to protect the feeble from the strong arm of oppression. The improvement of the country and the army should be advanced. Company should always be kept with the good, for this supplies the material of propriety. The showy but inwardly bad should be avoided, for they are the fountain-head of everything that is disagreeable. Do not associate with praters, loquacious persons, drunkards, foulmouthed persons, buffoons, bad-hearted men, base people, hot-headed persons, the envious, the censorious, fluent and ignorant sellers of wisdom, handsome youths and young women. For man easily assumes the manners of his associates. There are some who though they regard this principle in the matter of their companions, do not account of it with regard to their servants. They forget that the evil disposition of this class is the most extensive in its effects, and that it is from them that an evil report rises high. Much inspection is necessary for appreciating men. One is life-giving, another is poison. Some are like food, and some like medicine. Many wicked, by craft and flattery, obtain a place in the rank of the good. Many right-thinking ones, on account of their silence, their honest speaking, reserve and retirement, get the name of evil-doing. Do not turn away from the bitter disposition of the truthful, and be not angry with them. Nor be vexed on account of the superior enlightenment of the well-intentioned. Consider abundance of well-wishing as an ornament of dominion, not as a reason for neglect. Judge¹ nobility of caste and high birth from the personality, and not goodness from grandfathers, (*az niyāg nekī*) or greatness from (the size of) the seed. You can attain the truth by considering that smoke is the child of fire, but has no portion of light. "Look up with same eyes as you look

¹ The meaning is that he should reverse the process, and when he finds a man to be of high character

he should presume him to be of noble lineage, and not infer from high birth, nobility of character.

down and speak of the past as of the present.”¹ Be slow and profound in inquiries, and be not satisfied with writings, witnesses and oaths. Let varied investigations be made, and consider the lines of the forehead. Study the daily doings and manners of your companions. Be instant in prayer. Do not let reprisals pass beyond bounds, and do not attend to such matters when angry or hungry. Be not offended by diversity of religion. Struggle hard to sit in the shade of “peace with all.” Do not stain your soul with revenge. Do not take the path of deceit when inflicting retribution. Keep secrets to yourself, and except to one or two right-thinking and profound persons do not reveal your thoughts. Do not refer deliberation to an unsuitable assemblage. First, inquire separately, and then in full meeting consider what you have investigated. Do not indicate your (private) adviser. Do not distress the relation, the intimate and the neighbour by angry glances. If a thing can be remedied by kindness, do not have recourse to terror. Do not seek the destruction of the fallen, nor follow up the flying. Do² not open the lips to utter oaths. Receive warning³ from others, not from oneself. Whoever gathers wisdom from the teaching of the world learns without the learner’s pain. Forget not any one who does you service, and strive to recompense it. Postpone not to the morrow the work of to-day. Reckon a good name as eternal life. Keep aloof from jesting, and toying, especially with one who is higher (or older) than yourself. Though our ancestors practised this somewhat in order to drive away melancholy, yet they did not indulge in it so as to make the heart cold, and to neglect duties. Be not arrogant to any one, and do not affront any one. Regard the shining sword and the pen as the two arms of power. Commit the first to the brave and frank-hearted, and the second to the contented and right-acting. Soldiers get a great name by four things: 1st, Loyalty to their master; 2nd, Love to their comrades; 3rd, Obedience; 4th, Experience. The general is famed who always looks after the pay, the arms and the cattle of his followers, and who is always prepared. And he

¹ The passage is very obscure.

² Cf. J. II. 37. “Refrain from the use of oaths.” Perhaps *saugand* “oath” is here used in the sense of ordeal. See A.N. III. 672 (text), line 11.

³ That is, instead of learning from your own mistakes, do so from those of others.

wins their hearts by gifts and honours, and looks after the survivors of deceased soldiers. Nor does he lay hands on their properties. He is not lulled to sleep by success, and does not cast away caution at the time of action. He spends less than he receives. He consumes one portion, distributes another, and something he accumulates. He does not give himself up to intoxicants, nor is he devoted to hunting. He does not neglect secret inquiries. Especially does he seek information about those near to him and ¹ about the thoughts of enemies. In every ² business he employs some men who are unknown to one another, and he himself weighs their reports. If he cannot do so, he refers it to a truthful and abstinent master of peace with all. Otherwise he prosecutes his inquiries still further.

On 1 Ardībihisht S. Zīya-ullah ³ left the world. He was the son of S. Muḥammad Ghaṣṣ and had gathered some traditionary knowledge. He was familiar with Šūfī language. On the 6th the august retinue arrived at Amnābād, and the hidden knowledge of H.M. became again impressed on high and low. Inasmuch as the mountain air of Kashmīr, and the difficulty and delay in crossing into it excite the tranquil,—not to speak of the base and light-headed,—a low-born ⁴ person by name Jamīl mixed himself up in that country with the Aimāqs of Badakhshān and passed himself off as ‘Umr S., the son of M. Sulaimān. The Mīrzā when he was in distress in Hissār had a son by a girl and gave him this name. When he (the son) came away from there, he passed to Uzbeg K., the cousin of ‘Abdullāh K., and died. It is said that narrow-minded, envious people put him to death, while others say that he died of smallpox. Others said that he was still alive. That trickster resolved on making a commotion and secretly engaged in binding men by promises so

¹ I have inserted the conjunction because it occurs in the I.O. MSS. and in the Cawnpore edition. The passage is illustrated by the remark at p. 736, line 10, to the effect that rulers should first of all make inquiries about the dispositions of their sons and intimates (*nazdīkān*), as people are slow to complain against them.

² Cf. Jarrett II. 38. “In every

affair he should associate several who are unknown to each other,” etc.

³ Called Ziya-ud-dīn by Badayūnī, Lowe 123. See B. 457 at p. 204. Lowe, Badayūnī, calls him Zīya-ullah.

⁴ Text غوري زاده *ghorizāda*, which may mean “one born in low estate.” The Iqbāl-nāma seems to have “*az mardam gharībī*” “of poor people.”

that a thousand Badakhshīs and many Kashmīrīs joined him. The veil had not been removed from over his actions when the reports **724** of the august standards rose high. Some of those who knew the secret, arrested him and brought him to Muḥammad Qulī Beg, and he was conveyed to this stage (Amnābād). There he received his deserts. If H.M. had not made his expedition there would have been a great commotion, and many would have suffered. The eyes of vision of the superficial but well-intentioned were opened, and they who had controverted the expedition sank their heads in the collar of shame. On the 9th Khudāwand K. Deccanī, from his own self-will, retired. When in the fight with Ṣādiq K. he was disgraced and failed, he thought of entering into service, and joined Sher Khwāja. Soon afterwards he separated from him. Then a star of guidance, through the instrumentality of M. ‘Alī Beg Akbar-shāhī, brought him into the service of the prince. Inasmuch as he had not a strong thread of moderation, and his arrogance increased daily, he, in the same year and month, took to flight. On the 16th, Jagat Singh, the son of Rajah Mān Singh, was sent to the northern hills. Owing to the mismanagement of Rustum M. and Āṣaf K. there was delay in the work, and Bāsū made Mān strong, and became presumptuous. H.M. summoned the Mīrzā to his side when he was at the Cināb, and sent that choice servant in charge of the soldiers. On the 18th he arrived, hunting by the way, at the town of Gujrat—which had been recently founded by his orders. He rested for a while in this pleasant city. On the 19th M. Yūsuf K. was appointed Atālīq of Prince Sultān Murād. The mystery-seeing sovereign had given him a fief in Gujarāt (the province) in the previous year, and had sent him there. When Ṣādiq K. died, he was raised to this high position, and an order was given that he should join the Prince quickly, and do what was necessary for the times.

One of the occurrences was the defeat of the Pātkunwar.¹ When Lacsmī Narain, the ruler of Koc, submitted himself, and was exalted, envy made his competitor mad. He collected an army and took possession of some territory. Lacsmī Narain retired into a fortress and begged the help of Rajah Mān Singh. A chosen force

¹ The Raghū Rai of Mr. Gait's paper (J.A.S.B. for 1893), and Raghū

Deva of the Hayagrīva temple-incription, Gait 295.

under the command of Jajhār K. and Fath K. Sūr hastened to the spot. On the 22nd Ardībihisht (3 May 1597) they arrived there and after a great contest defeated (the Pātkunwar). Many were killed, and many were made prisoners, and much plunder was obtained. On the 23rd the august standards reached Bhimbhar, and the quarters of Mīr Murād the local fief-holder were brightened by the advent of H.M. The victorious troops were divided into ten sections. 1st, H.M. with some special men. 2nd, the ladies of the harem; and the writer was, with some men, put in charge of this party. 3rd, the Prince-Royal and his men. The other seven were the guards for each day (of the week). On 1st Khurdād, 11 May 1597, the first defile was surmounted. On the 6th (Khurdād), which was the day of Jashn,¹ the halt was made at Rajaurī, and the Prince came to the presence without permission. On the route some impropriety² occurred, and for a while he was in disgrace and not allowed to pay his respects. The writer of the jewelled book was sent for in order that he might inquire into the matter. On account of the exceeding love of the world's lord and the contrition of the nursling of dominion he (Salīm) was pardoned.

On this day it was represented to H.M. that Khawājagī³ Fath Ullah had misbehaved in the matter of guarding the road, and that one of the Prince-Royal's servants had been killed. H.M. sent him (Fath Ullah) to the Prince in order that he might be punished. The latter was delighted at this graciousness and treated him with favour and sent him back to service. On the 8th the Prince obtained permission to proceed⁴ as before, and the writer was also appointed

¹ The 6th Khurdād is called Jashn. The Iqbāl-nāma seems to take the word as meaning a feast and says Akbar's weighment took place on this day, but apparently this is a mistake.

² Apparently this was not the affray between the Prince's servants and Fath Ullah, but something that had occurred previously.

³ Khawājagī Fath Ullah was Bakhshī, see B. 499 and 528, and the Iqbāl-nāma says he was placed by Akbar on the top of the Bhimbar

Pass and told to let nobody through without orders, the object being to prevent men crowding into Kashmīr and the consequent occurrence of a famine. In executing these orders an affray occurred and one of Salīm's servants was killed. But apparently this occurred after the Prince had fallen into disgrace for some unexplained cause.

⁴ Apparently Salīm and A. F. were sent back to the charge of their respective divisions.

to this service. On the 11th H.M. marched from Pustīāna, and crossed the Pīr Panjāl, cutting and treading down the snow. A halt was made in Nārī Barārī at the lodging which Muḥammad Qulī Beg had prepared.

In this year the commotion of Bahādur ceased. He was the son of Moẓaffar Gujratī. When the latter died in failure, his son took shelter with Tīwārī,¹ and he hid him and supported him. At the time when many of the fief-holders were serving the Prince in the South, Bahādur raised the head of sedition. Base, fly-like creatures joined him, and the town of Dandūqa was plundered. Rajah Sūraj Singh and some men took the resolution of fighting. On this day the troops were drawn up on both sides and there was some fighting among the skirmishers. By the good fortune of the Shāh-inshāh that rebel was put to flight.

On the 14th, great Passes were traversed and H.M. halted at Hīrapūr. From this stage he went on to behold the spectacle of the Spring in Jamāl Nagarī,² and an order was given that the camp should keep the high road and enter the city. In old times this was a capital, and its ruin told an instructive tale. The plain expanded the melancholy heart. According to orders this humblest of individuals came to this pleasant place from Hīrapūr, and was exalted by performing the prostration at the holy threshold. On the 19th H.M. spread out his tent in Punj Brāra³ (Bij-Behara). The ladies joined him here. Near this place M. Yūsuf K. had thought of making a city on the top of a ridge. H.M. went to the spot, and gave it the name of Akbarnagar, and made over the estab-

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma has Tarwārī, the ruler of Rājpipla, and says Moẓaffar left in his charge a son and two daughters. Bahadūr lived into Jahangir's reign and died a natural death in 1614. Elliott VI. 340, Tuzuk J. translation, 274.

² This is the name of a place, but I do not find the name in Stein or elsewhere. The Iqbāl-nāma has Jamālnagarī as the name of a place, and it is mentioned as such by

Faizī Sirhindī who says Akbar arrived there on the 17th (Shāwal). He adds that many men suffered from asthma here. Perhaps it is the burned city of Narapūra referred to by Stein, p. 172, J.A.S.B. Akbarnagar may have been built on the Cakradhara "Uḍar."

³ The Vijayesvara or Vijabror of Stein. It is a famous place of pilgrimage.

lishing of it to Muḥammad Qulī Beg. At this stage the Prince-Royal performed the *kornish*. On the 23rd he proceeded with some intimates up the river and first halted at Anca.¹ From there he
726 went to Machī² Bhavan and enjoyed himself and then took boat near Khānpul.³ On both banks there were delightful meadows. H.M. enjoyed the pleasures of hunting.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Mau. Rajah Bāsū, on account of ill fortune and the strength of the position, took the road of ingratitude. He won over many proprietors to his side. When the victorious troops proceeded there, some landholders separated (from Bāsū) and joined them. That turbulent one entered the difficult fortress. The victorious troops invested it, but interested motives withheld them from prosecuting the task. When, by orders, M. Rustum set off for the court, the other servants made a compact of concord and addressed the foot of resolution to service. For two months great valour was displayed. In one place was Āṣaf K. with a number of strenuous men; on another was Tāsh Beg K. with some brave men. Hāshim Beg was there with some noted men and Muḥammad K. with a party of servants. On the 24th that slumbrous-witted one came out and took shelter in another strong place. The imperial servants took the fort and plundered the dwellings. They burnt his house and home. On the 26th M. Rustum did homage near Pampūr,⁴ and was exalted by princely favours. On the 27th H.M. encamped near Koh-i-Solīmān, and he went to visit the Dall Lake. From there he went to see Amartasar⁵ which is a famous temple in that country. Near it is a delightful fountain. H.M. travelled 105 *kos* in 34 days. He halted on the way one month and five days. On the 28th he cast

¹ I think this is the famous fountain of Acebal or Acabal which A. F. in *Āīn*, J. II. 358, calls Achh Dal. See Stein, J.A.S.B. for 1899, p. 99.

² Martand or Matan. See Stein, J.A.S.B. for 1899, pp. 176, 177, where Matsyabhavna, i.e. abode of fish, is given as one of its names. The place is famous for its temple of the

Sun. J. II. 358. Faizī Sirhindī describes Macī Bhawan.

³ Kanbal the port of Islāmābād, the Khanabal of Stein.

⁴ Banpūr in text.

⁵ So in text *امرتسور*. I.O. MS. 236 has *امويسر*. Apparently it is the Amaresvara of Stein 164, N.N.W. of Srīnagar, now Ambarhar, but it may be Amartabhavana, Stein id.

the shadow of his fortune on the city of Nāgarnagar.¹ Near Srīnagar there is a high hill, and there is a large reservoir (*ābgīrī*) near it. The far-seeing prince had chosen this place as the site of a city, and M. Yūsuf K. had, under his orders, peopled it. He built some residences and laid the foundation of an earthen wall. Suitable quarters were also provided for the soldiers. H.M. took up his abode in the quarters of Muḥammad Qulī Beg on the banks of the lake. An order was given that the fort should be made of stone. Every portion of the work was assigned to an officer. On this day it was shown how the commotion of that native of Ghor (*ghorīzāda*)² had arisen, and how it had been quelled by the report of the august expedition. He who had delivered him up received the reward of his good service. It also appeared that much evil had been caused by the tyranny of the fief-holders. In their ignorance of affairs they demanded the whole rent in money and sought for gold and silver from that country which was regulated by the division of crops. H.M. made remittances to crowds of men, and established choice regulations. The oppressors received their punishment. And kindness was shown to the injured cultivators. The whole country was divided into fourteen portions, and to each of these two *bitikcīs* (accountants), one an Indian and the other a Persian, were sent so that they might study the settlement-papers (*khām kāghaz*) of every³ village and might ascertain the extent of the cultivated and

¹ The Haraparvat and the hill Sārikā of Stein, pp. 147, 148, the Harī Parbat or "Fort Hill" of the I.G. The hill is on the northern outskirts of the city and about 250 feet high, and crowned by the fort. The date given in the I.G. is wrong. The wall was built in 1597 apparently and the Fort still later according to Stein. At all events the stone buildings of the Fort appear to have been erected in 1597, though evidently something had been done in M. Yūsuf K.'s time, and we find from p. 618 that Ḥusain Beg and Qāzī 'Alī took refuge in the fort of Nāgarnagar in July 1592.

² Perhaps it means "low-born" or it may mean "untimely born" and be connected with *ghaura*. See Badayūni's II. 379 where the word *ghaura*, an immature grape, is used with reference to Murād.

³ Text *har dū* "of both," but the I.O. MSS. have *har dih* and I think that the reading must be *har dih* or *har dīh* and not *har dū*. Evidently Chalmers also read *har dih* for he translates "to read all the documents of each village." The two *bitikcīs* were appointed to be a check on one another, or in order to get through the work, but I don't think they were to make out two sets

uncultivated land, and of the collections, and might reckon one half of the produce as the share of the ruler,¹ and return any excess. Though they (the fief-holders?) always spoke about three heaps² (of produce), yet they claimed the third share of the tenant's uncultivated land. An arrangement was made for cultivated and uncultivated land. When the settlement was for more than ten years, one-sixth share was taken for the first year, one-fourth for the second, one-third for the third, and one-half for the fourth. When the settlement was for from ten to four years, one-fifth was the share for the first year, one-third for the second, and the usual rate (one-

of papers, and the *khām kāghaz* must, I think, have been the settlement-papers already drawn up, and not those which the two accountants were to prepare.

¹ *Farmāndihī*. (Here I suppose it would mean the fief-holder to whom Government had transferred its rights.

² The word "three" does not occur in text nor in the MSS. In text the words are *hamwāra toda nām bar nihand*. I.O. MS. 236 and Mr. Irvine's MS. have *būda* for *toda* and perhaps this is the true reading. I have inserted the word "three" because I think that the passage is explained by p. 570, Vol. I, of the *Āīn*, Jarrett's translation II. 366. The lit. translation of that passage seems to be, "Though they from of old used the name of one-third share, yet they took more than two-thirds. H.M.'s justice has made it one-half." Jarret translates, "Although one-third had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares was actually taken, but through His Majesty's justice, it has been reduced to one-half." Gladwin's translation is to the same

effect. If *būda* be the true reading, then the meaning would seem to be, "Though they professed to go by 'actuals' yet they wanted to take even the one-third of the husbandman when nothing had been produced." Perhaps *hamwāra* does not mean here "continually" but "even, equal," and the translation of *hamwāra tūda* should be "equal heaps." The author of the *Iqbāl-nāma* avoids going into particulars, and says it was Abul Faḥl who, under orders from Akbar, put matters to rights. Apparently the settlement in force in the 42nd year was the one made by Āṣaf K. in the 39th year. See ante, p. 661. A.N. III. 548, and B. 346, and Maṣṣar I. 110 should be consulted. Blochmann has made a curious slip. He says, p. 411, Āṣaf K. only stayed three days in Kashmīr. He could not have made a settlement in that time, and what A. F. says, A.N. III. 661, line nine, is that Āṣaf made the journey from Kashmīr to Lahore in three days. Āṣaf was made governor of Kashmīr in the 42nd year: see infra p. 732.

half) for the third. (When the settlement was) for from four to two years the share was one-third for the first year, and for the second one-half. In a short time great comfort was produced.

On account¹ of the deficiency of rain and the dispersal of the husbandmen, prices became somewhat high. Though by the coming of the victorious army the scarcity was increased, yet the Shāhin-shāh's graciousness provided a remedy. By his orders twelve places were prepared in the city for the feeding of great and small (i.e. young and old). Every Sunday a general proclamation was made in the 'Īdgāh, and some went from the palace and bestowed food and presents on the applicants. Eighty thousand necessitous persons—more or less—received their hearts' desires. A great many persons also got their livelihood by the building of the fort. By means of the pay for their labour they were brought out from the straits of want. At this time some attention was paid to miscellaneous imposts. Fifty-five censurable customs were abolished. The husbandmen for a long time paid² these, and until the order of remission took effect they did not believe in it (the abolition). The case³ of the saffron is one of these. The Government share of the produce was divided among the bazaar-people and the husbandmen to be cleaned. Though out

¹ From the accounts of Xavier and others it appears that the famine was very severe.

² Text *basān-i-sābiq*, but the MSS. have *basān-i-māl*.

³ A. F., as usual, writes obscurely. Fortunately the passage is elucidated by the account of the saffron-cultivation in the *Āīn*, B. 84, and J. II. 357. See also Elliot VI. 375, the *Tūzuk Jahangīrī* 315, and the *Iqbāl-nāma Jahangīrī*, 168. It would appear from *Jahāngīr*'s account that the practice of paying for the labour in cleaning the saffron by barter, viz. by salt, was still in force in his time. After the words *khushk z'af-rān* we have the words *u tarah* وتاره which I do not understand. I.O. MS.

236 seems to have *tazhā* buds, and I have adopted this. But what we should expect to find would be *khālīṣ* "pure" which occurs in the *Āīn*, B. 84. I now suggest the Arabic word *watarat* instead of *utarah*. This would mean choicest (saffron). At p. 734 A.F. says that owing to Akbar's abolition of forced labour two *sīrs* of dried saffron were obtained from seven or eight *traks* instead of from eleven or thirteen as formerly. Possibly the text is wrongly punctuated, and the hyphen or stop should come after *jahānbāni rā*. The sentence would then be, the case of the Government-share of the saffron is an instance of this. The saffron, etc.

of eleven *traks*, one was given as wages, yet two *sīrs* of dried saffron and buds (?) were exacted, and there was great loss, especially in the time of rain. It was also an old custom that the cultivator should cut and bring some wood from a distance. Otherwise they lost their pay. Similarly they took money from the carpenter, the weaver and other workmen. On 2 Tīr H.M. went to see the new quarters. M. Yūsuf K. had put up beautiful buildings on the top of a small hill near Nāgarnagar for the repose of H.M. On the 6th he went to Shihābū-d-dīn-pūr, and from there he proceeded to Lain Lankā.¹ When he came to the lake there were high waves, the boat was taken to the bank and he rested by the skirt of the mountain. In the morning he went to that charming spot, and got new enlightenment. On the 9th something improper happened on the part of the Prince-Royal while he was traversing that great lake. Khawāja Bhūl got angry² and conveyed a message from the Shāhinshāh. The Prince was angry at his rude words, and the gracious sovereign consoled him by cutting the tip of his (the Khawāja's) tongue.

728 Meanwhile, by orders of the Shāhinshāh, a ghrīb³ (vessel) such as those used at sea, was prepared. High and low were astonished, and on the 20th he sate in it and witnessed the spectacle of the river Behat (Jhelam).

One of the occurrences was the taking of Bāndhū.⁴ As increase of territory and wealth augments H.M.'s devotions and he makes success an instrument for developing the spiritual world, all kinds of difficult tasks, which have not been accomplished by former rulers in spite of abundant efforts, are easily effected by his servants. The conquests of this formidable fortress speaks eloquently of this. Pannah is a populous country, and has a separate ruler. This fortress (Bāndhū) is the seat of his government. The territory extends to

¹ In Lake Wular, J. II. 364. It is described by Xavier in a letter published by L. de Dieu.

² Or perhaps, conveyed an angry message from the Shāhinshāh.

³ Cf. B. 280. It was a model.

⁴ Bāndhū is now in the Rewah State, and is the Bāndhogarh of I.G. VI. 358. Apparently, it was regard-

ed in A. F.'s time as belonging to Panna State. See also B. 407, 469, and Elliot IV. 463 n. A minor, Bikramajīt by name, had taken possession of the fort. See I.G. XXI. 281, and also VI. 359. Can the local legend about Akbars, having been born at Bāndhogarh be connected with his alleged re-birth at Allahabad?

the east of it for sixty *kos*, and then comes the land of other Rajahs who are to some extent submissive to him. Then comes the territories of Sarguja and Rohtās. On the west it extends for twelve *kos* and there are the lands of other zamindars who are in a manner subject to him. After that comes the land of Gadha. On the north are the Ganges and the Jumna. The territory extends in this direction for sixty *kos* and joins the province of Allahabad. On the south it extends for sixteen *kos*, and then comes the territory of Gadha. Between the south and east (i.e. to the S.E.) is Rantambhūr after 45 *kos*. To the N.E. it extends for 70 *kos* and then comes the province of Allahabad. To the N.W. it extends for 50 *kos* and adjoins Fort Kālinjar. To the S.W. it extends for 25 *kos* and then is the territory of Gadha. The difficulties in the taking of this fort cannot be described. It is surrounded by low hills, whose vallies extend for eight *kos*, and whose high lands extend for more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kos*. On three sides it has hills close to it. On the N. it is surrounded by a stone wall. The first gate is called Ganeshpūr. Near it is a large reservoir. The second gate is Hindalīpūr; the third, Kampūr; the fourth, Harharpūr. Inside are the Rajah's quarters. The fort is an ancient building and has four fine old walls, and a charming lake. Inside is a large temple. Round about are the houses of the kinsmen and dependents. No ruler had laid hands on it. Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn had the idea of doing so, and spent much treasure on the enterprise, and many lives were lost, but he was unsuccessful. At this time, by H.M.'s fortune, it was conquered with little trouble. When the garrison sent the young ruler to court, their idea was that they would put off an expedition against the fort by scattering gold. The acute sovereign did not accept the words of the bribe-takers and issued an order to the effect that the rule of service was that the fort must once be delivered up in order that it might be given back. Owing to somnolence of intellect, and the strength of the fort, the good advice was not received and they resolved upon contumacy. Rai Patr Dās exerted himself, and liberality was made the key for delivering up the fort. After severe engagements the country was conquered and in an auspicious hour the fort was invested. After eight months twenty days the garrison, or 22 Tīr, 8 July 1597, came to terms on account of want of provisions, and the fort was taken. Much plunder was obtained.

729 On 4 Amardād a son was born in the harem of Prince Sultan Daniel by the daughter of Qulīj K., and soon departed to the other world.

One of the occurrences was the appearance of a rainbow (*qaus quzah*)¹ on the night of the 5th (Amardād). On the night (*shab*) of 13 Zī-l-ḥajja, 18 July 1597, in the city of Srīnagar there was a feast of enlightenment. At the third *pahar* in the eastern heaven, a rainbow—which the Persians call the two-coloured bow—appeared. The variety of its colours was less than that of one (rainbow) which appears in the day. Though some think that the rainbow appertains solely to the day, they are without special knowledge. Some ancients allow that it is also produced by the rays of the moon, and that it does not acquire so many colours (as the solar rainbow). Maulānā Sʿaidu-d-dīn² Taftāzānī writes, “In the year 763 (1362) in Turkistan, on the opposite direction from the moon, I saw an appearance like a rainbow, but it had not the permanency and the bright colour of that.” On the 8th,³ in the same city, after a watch of the day had elapsed, a halo round the sun (*tufāwa*) showed itself for two hours. The Indian sages did not think it auspicious, and directed the great towards kindness to the needy. H.M. gave large bounties to the needy, and won over hearts.

Though the present work does not deal with the causes of those two phenomena, and though it is treated of in cyclopaedias (*farhang nāmihā*), yet the contention of intellect leads me, nolens volens, to say something about them, and to enlighten the perception of the inquirer.

The Peripatetics regard this glorious bow, this halo, and other solar phenomena (*shamsīyāt*) as fantastic, unsubstantial appearances like the reflections in a mirror, while the Platonists (*ashrāqīān*) regard them as real and substantial occurrences.

¹ See Lane's Dict. 2520b. Quzah is an angel who presides over the clouds. The third *pahār* must mean the third watch of the night for A. F. goes on to say that it was a nocturnal phenomenon and depending on the moon.

² An author who lived in the time of Timur and who is called Taftā-

zānī from his birth-place. See Beale s.v. Taftāzānī and D'Herbelot s.v. Takhtazānī. He died in 1390. As he was born in 1322 he was about 40 when he saw the lunar rainbow.

³ Faizī Sirhindī says the halo was seen round the sun at midday on 10 Zī-l-ḥajja, the day of the 'Id Qorbān.

[Here follow about two pages of disquisition on the subject of rainbows and halos. They are probably borrowed from some astronomer, and are difficult of translation. I think, I may neglect them].

On the 12th (Amardād) a piece of stone was shown to H.M. There appeared to be some water inside of it, and the spectators were astonished. Some Persians who were present represented that they had broken a stone in 'Irāq and that a frog¹ had come out of it.

Next morning a Turkish rope-dancer appeared and gave a wonderful exhibition. On the 16th Sāng² Panwār died. He was a noted Rājput. His survivors were comforted by royal favours.

At this time the ambassadors to Tibet were sent off. At the time that the royal standards came to Kashmīr, it had been intended that an army should be sent to conquer that country. As, owing to the scarcity of the year, it was difficult to provide the soldiers with forty days' provisions, and as H.M. wished to convey counsels, the design was not carried out. Umed 'Alī Jolak, Tālib Isfahānī, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Kashmīrī were sent to 'Alī Zād, the ruler of Little Tibet, and Ayūb Beg, Salīm Kāshgharī, 'Abdu-l-Karīm Kashmīrī were sent to Kokaltāsh Kaliyū, the ruler of Great Tibet. Rājū Rai, the commander-in-chief of that kingdom, had on account of his wealth become somewhat rebellious, and the ruler of the country had collected an army and deprived him of his fiefs. That rebel had gone into vagabondage. At this time 'Alī Zād rose up to avenge him (?) and by his guidance and wickedness he was successful and made (the ruler of Great Tibet) prisoner, and proceeded to his dwelling-place and gathered abundant moneys. He also took much territory. On hearing the report of the arrival of the sublime army he made the above-named (Kokaltāsh)—who was descended from former rulers—ruler and returned. An ambassador was also sent to Kashghar. When 'Abdu-l-Karīm died, and Muḥammad³ K. (his brother) 732 became ruler of that country, it appeared that he wished to suppli-

¹ *Wazaqī*. Text wrongly has waraq.

² Evidently this is the Sāngah

Punwār (Powār) of the Āin, B. 526. The text has Banwār.

³ See ante, p. 556.

cate the sublime court. He had sent Shāh Muḥammad¹ with valuable gifts. On the way he was robbed, and out of simplicity and shame he went off to the Hijāz. At this time he came and was exalted by paying homage. He related his adventures. On the 20th he was sent back after being treated with favours. M. Ibrāhīm Andījānī was sent with counsels, and some choice goods were made over to Fattā² Hā (?). H.M.'s idea was that the ambassador would proceed to Khatā (China) as for a long time there had been no news of that country, nor was it known who ruled it. H.M. also wished to know with whom he was at war, and what degree of enlightenment and sense of justice he possessed, what kind of knowledge was current, who among the ascetics had a lamp of guidance, who was supreme for science? An order was given that these questions should be put to the ruler of Kashghar, and that an answer should be brought. On the 21st Gangā Rīshī presented himself at the assembly of the Justice of God (Akbar). He is one of the great Rīshīs, and the people of Kashmīr regard him as a saint. The Prince-Royal invited him to come, and that seeker after God came from a wish to see the Shāhinshāh. On seeing him, he received fresh enlightenment. At this time Shahbāz K. came to court, and was not admitted to the *kornish*. When Rām Cand was sent to recall the Mālwa soldiers, he, of necessity, returned with M. Shahrukh. Near Burhānpūr he learnt that the Prince (Murād) had taken some of his fiefs and given them to others, and that there had been a fight with the agents, and that some had fallen on both sides. His distress increased, and he stopped going further. He sent M. Shahrukh and the rest of the soldiers to the Deccan with Rām Cand and turned back himself (?). For some time he remained in Malwā, waiting for Rām Cand. When the latter died, he went off to Court. He was kept in disgrace and not allowed an audience. When it became clear that his coming was unavoidable, he was allowed, on the 26th, to make the *kornish*. At this time Āṣaf K. got a *jāgīr* in Kashmīr.

¹ B. 506. He was a son of Qoresh Sultān and nephew of Muḥammad K.

² The Iqbāl-nāma adds the title Shīrāzī to his name. The letter which Akbar wrote on this occasion appears in the first book of the Inshā. The

name, in the Newalkishore ed., is Fattā Hā as in text, and he is described as being a merchant and as wishing to go to China. The questions in the text are inserted in the letter.

One of the chief causes of the ruin of this country was that among the fief-holders there was no great officer whose opinion might be followed by all. For this reason he was sent for from the northern hills. On the 31st he was exalted by doing homage, and the charge of the country was entrusted to him. On 2 Shahrīyūr there was a grand display of lamps. It is an old custom in that country. On the night of the 13th Bhādūn, according to the calculation of the bright¹ fortnight (*Shuklpacha*), high and low lighted lamps, and implored blessings. They related that the river Behat—which flows through the city—was born on this day, and in thanks therefor they held a feast. On this account an order was given that the royal servants should light lamps on boats² and on the bank of the lake and the top of the hill. There was a glorious illumination and 733 men who had seen the world were astonished. On this day a delightful palace was completed by the Shāhinshāh's orders. In the Kashmīrī tongue it was called Larī. On the 6th H.M. had a feast there and there was rejoicing. On the 13th it appeared that Hāfiẓ Qāsim had out of sensuality stained the skirt of the chastity of a woman. He was castrated, and though he got a little better, he soon died.

One of the occurrences was the death of Durjan Singh. When Lacmī Narain became successful by the help of eternal fortune, 'Īsā K., proprietor (*bhūmī*), collected an army and set out to help Pātkunwar. On hearing of this, Rajah Mān Singh sent off a force by land, and also sent some men by the river under command of his son Durjan Singh in order that the houses of the proprietors might be plundered. Inasmuch as domestic broils produce great injury, one of the double-faced and crooked ones gave information to those men. On the 25th the river-detachment plundered many places, and made an expedition against Katrabū.³ Six *kos* from Bikrāmpūr 'Īsā and M'aṣūm arrived with a large number of war-boats. They surrounded the river detachment and after a hard contest the leader (Durjan) and many soldiers delivered up the coin of their lives. Some men were

¹ See J. II. 17, and Akbar's *fīrmān* about reckoning from the increase of the moon.

² The text has *ferāz-i-koh kishṭī*. But B.M. MS. Add. 27247 has *u kishṭī* "and boats" which makes better sense.

³ Katarabū; and is mentioned as a Dacca estate by Mr. Douglas in a report of 26 May 1790. See my history of Bākarganj, p. 417. App.

made prisoners, and some escaped. Though there was a disaster, yet the ruler of Koc was saved from injury. 'Isā, from farsightedness, had recourse to blandishments and sent back his prisoners.

On 11 Mihr after 3 hours and 4 seconds a daughter was born in the harem of the Prince-Royal by the daughter of the Mota Rajah. It is hoped that she will become a great lady. On the 20th H.M. entered the Behat through the Dal lake, and from thence proceeded to Shihābu-d-dīnpūr, where he spent the night. Next morning he hunted and crossed over to Zain Lankā, returning at night to Shihābu-d-dīnpūr. Next day he visited the Lār¹ valley where the wonders of autumn surprised the critical. He received much pleasure and returned to Nāgnagar. The varied colours of the season of the fall of the leaf in this country put to shame the Spring of many other places. Especially the apple, the peach, the vine and the plane (*chinār*) tree.

Verse.

The beauty of decay was not seen save here.

The pomp of Autumn was more full of colour than the Spring.

¹ J. II. 363. It is there described as bordering on Great Tibet.

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

RETURN OF THE AUGUST STANDARDS TO INDIA AND THE ARRIVAL AT
LAHORE.

H.M. enjoyed himself for three months and twenty-nine days in this country. When the rainy season occurred, it rained here **734** also. The sovereign had varied pleasures and accomplished his devotions to God. His idea was to spend the winter in this delightful locality, but from the beginning of Mihr (10 September) it became very cold. The inhabitants of hot countries became somewhat inconvenienced, and out of graciousness, H.M. announced that his design of remaining was abandoned. He resolved on going to India by the old route of Pīrpanjal, after he had seen the sight of the saffron¹-beds (in Pānpūr). He gave money to the officers in order that they might make fitting preparations at every stage. On the 25th (Mihr = about 5 October) he embarked in a boat and proceeded towards the exhibition, on his way to India. Next morning he arrived at the saffron-fields. He stayed there seven days, and every day the flowers were harvested. They² were divided among the officers in order that they might superintend the cleaning. At the time when the peasants were impressed for this work, and when deficiency (in produce) was punished (?), two *sīrs* were obtained from eleven, and occasionally, from thirteen *traks*. Owing to the great remission (by Akbar) the same quantity was obtained from seven or eight *traks*. The gathering was done quickly and well owing to the numerous gatherers and the supervision, nor did the rain do any harm. When H.M. had enjoyed the sight, he resumed his journey on 3 Ābān and halted at Khānpūr. Next morning the solar weighing took place, and he was weighed against twelve articles. There was proclamation of liberality, and a world enjoyed success.

¹ Stein, J.A.S B. 1899, p. 122 and 167.

² Cf. the account given by Faiẓī Sirhindī.

At this stage the troops were divided, and the rules for traversing the mountains laid down. The Prince-Royal took leave as he was to be the last this time. Up to *Pushiāna*¹ the ladies accompanied. On the 9th H.M. himself set out, and on this day *Āṣaf K.* returned. On the way there fell some snow and rain, but afterwards it became fine. On the 15th he descended from *Bhimbhar* to *Akbarābād*, and crowds of men enjoyed themselves. On the 19th at *Gujrāt*, *Maqṣūd Beg*, the paternal uncle of *Āṣaf K.*, arrived from Persia and was admitted to an audience. On the 22nd he mounted an elephant and crossed the *Chīnāb* while the army crossed by a bridge. He hunted² at *Gujrāt*, *Daulatābād* and *Hāfizābād*. On 3 *Āzar*, 13th or 14th November 1597, he arrived at Lahore. He spent one month and ten days on the road, and there were 27 marches. He reposed in the new palace and engaged in returning thanks to God. By his orders the *Daulatkhāna* (hall of audience) and some sacred buildings which had been injured by the fire had been rebuilt.

735 One grievous occurrence was the death of *Sultān Rustum*, the son of Prince *Sultān Murād*. The affectionate sovereign loved grand-children more than sons, and he (*Rustum*) was habituated to exalted love so that the counsels³ of father or mother did not become the vesture of his heart. From the beginning of discretion he was indignant at anything improper and any excess of anger made him ill. Great endeavours were made to guard his soul, and the noble⁴ lady of the auspicious family cherished him with much affection. Though his age was (only) nine years, three months and five days by the solar calendar, yet he possessed the wisdom of mature

¹ Stein, J.A.S.B. 1896, p. 78.

² *Faizī* has 13 *Rabī'-uṣṣānī* = 14 November.

³ The word *dīd* here does not, I think, mean "beholding" but counsel or opinion as in p. 811, line 18. The meaning is that the boy was not influenced by his parents' counsels but by his grandfather's.

⁴ Text, *Mahīn Bānūī dūdman-i-s'aādat*. There is a word in the MSS. like *Bīca* or *Pīca* after *s'aādat*

and they have not the word *baḥand* as in text. A reference to *Faizī Sirhindī*, I.O. MS. 192, p. 215^b, shows that the person meant is *Jījī Anaga*, mother of *M. Koka*. *Rustum's* mother was a daughter of *M. Koka*, and consequently *Rustum* was *Jījī's* great-grandson. *Faizī Sirhindī* says she brought him up. He says *Rustum* died on 29 *Rabī'-uṣṣānī* = 29 November.

men. The light of intelligence shone from his brow, and his behaviour showed nobility of nature. On the night of the 7th (Azar = November), after one watch, his stomach became disordered, and he grew delirious. On the 9th, at the third watch of Sunday, this nosegay of intelligence faded, and a world was plunged into sorrow.

Verse.

The worthless, love-severing world is for the base ;
 Yea, 'tis so that you may not cleave to it, or be oblivious.
 Many musky tresses has it laid in the navel¹ of the dust ;
 Many rose-like (*gul*) faces has it veiled in clay (*gil*).

Small and great uttered cries of grief, and there was universal weeping. What can be written of the faithlessness of fortune, and the jugglery of the spheres? And why should anything be written? For this is to measure water in a sieve, and to catch wind in a net. In this sorrow the wisdom of great and small becomes foolishness. H.M. by the Divine strength hasted to the pleasant abode of resignation, and from abundant wisdom applied balm to the inner wounds. If Time were really in confusion, as some say, this great one would not have attained to the government of the world!

They say that Kai Khasrū out of grief for his son became recalcitrant to wisdom and fell into perturbation. One of the enthusiasts and free of heart had friendship with him and had always access to him. Every now and then he would come from the desert to the city and go to the king's private chamber. On this occasion he went according to his custom to his private chamber and opened his lips in order to strengthen him. Why, he asked, was the king disturbed, and his heart sorrowful. The king told of the death of the darling of his heart (lit. the corner of his liver). The other said, "Did² you not expect him to die?" The king replied, "How

¹ The conceit refers to musk being obtained from the deer's navel.

² The story is obscurely told, and the darvish seems to have been but a poor adept at consolation. I am indebted to Maulvi Abdul Haq Abīd for a translation of the passage. The

point of the darvish's remark is, says the Maulvī, that whether a man live long or shortly, it is all the same seeing that he cannot carry away with him the fruition of his desires. I do not find any mention in Firdūsī of Kai Khusrū's son. He was succeeded by his son-in-law.

can such a thought be regarded as wise? but I wished him to get some benefit from the world (to taste some of its pleasures).” The other said, “Did he take with him any of the benefits which he had received?” “No,” replied the king. “Then,” said the other, “Reckon that he got all that he desired seeing that he did not carry anything away with him.”

Likewise Alexander the two-horned with all his insight and fortune became confused on the occurrence of a catastrophe of this kind. The tongue of comfort of his intimates became dumb. Aristotle, who knew the condition of the world, went into his private chamber and said, “Do not think that I have come to console you. My sole idea was that at this time which is one of distress for the tranquil and the wise I might obtain a regulation about patience from you who are the assemblage of excellent qualities.” He awoke on hearing this and had a meeting of instruction.

On 5 Bahman they let loose a *cīta* against a clever stag. The latter turned and so smote the *cīta* with his horns that he ran away. The spectators were astonished. Next morning a letter came from the Prince from the Deccan. Some elephants, swords, hawks and wrestlers were sent, and H.M. had some pleasure in their skill.

One of the occurrences was the death of the ruler of Tūrān, ‘Abdullah K. He spent some portion of his life in doing justice, but on account of his worship of his son he could not put down his tyranny. The latter, from the idea that he was Regent, hunted the lives of many innocent people, and ruined families. Unmeasured kindness intoxicated that wicked one. He stretched out his arm against the lives, the property and the honour of men. The first duty of a ruler is to inquire from time to time into the characters of his sons, his relatives and his intimates,—for complaints against them are not soon preferred—and in the administration of justice, to make no difference between them and others. He must not slumber over his kingly duties. He (‘Abdullah) from excess of affection could not give him paternal counsel, and after a long time he gave him the advices of a mother. Consequently that slumbrous-witted one increased his insolence. The old age of the ruler and the vogue of flatterers withheld him from acting rightly.¹ He regarded the remon-

¹ Probably A. F. was in this sentence referring to the father.

strances of the right-thinking and honest-speaking—who were not afraid for themselves—as prompted by self-interest. At last he (the son) gradually conceived the thought of attempting his father's life. He lay in wait for an opportunity. One day he ('Abdullah) was enjoying the pleasure of hunting along with some friends. That wicked one quickly proceeded to execute his project (of killing his father). A good man gave information to the Khān, and he speedily came to Bokhara. The wretch was ashamed of his failure and set himself to invest the city. Honest servants and sincere friends soon gathered together, and the worthless fellow withdrew with failure. The Khān set out to punish him. The latter did not find himself able to resist and crossed the Āmū, and destroyed the boats. At this time Toqal¹ Qazzāq came out of the desert (dasht) and attacked. The Khān returned to oppose him, and the latter returned without having plundered Samarkand. 'Abdullah fell very ill in that city and Muḥammad Bāqī Beg and some double-faced intimates (of 'Abdullah) sent for that wicked one ('Abdu-l-Mūmīn). He came quickly from Balkh. When the Khān got a little better, he sent him a message to go back. He did not accept it, but came on slowly. Muḥammad Bāqī—who was the prime minister (*vakīl*)—invited the Khān to an entertainment, and in that house of hypocrisy he died on 14 Bahman, 24 January² 1598. Prob-⁷³⁷ably that ingrate administered poison in his food, and so garnered everlasting disgrace. In order to refresh the fountain of my words I here record his genealogy.

By sixteen generations he was descended—through Jūjī—from the great Qāān Cingīz K. 'Abdullah K. was the son of Sikandar K., s. Jānī Beg, s. Muḥammad Sulṭān, s. Abu-l-Khair K. s. J. Daulat Oghlān, s. Ibrahīm, s. Pulād, s. Sūrānca Sulṭān, s. Maḥmud Khawāja K., s. Qāan Bāi, s. Rābil Bāk, s. Mangu³ Taimūr, s. Badaqul, s. Jūjī

¹ Text Noqal, but MSS. have Toqal, or Tawaqal. See also Vambéry, Hist. of Bokhāra, 298, where we have Tökel: see his note, *id.*

² See Noel's Akbar, translation II. 340 note. Vambéry in his Hist. of Bokhara, p. 294, gives the date 2 Rajab 1006 and then puts in brackets

(February 6, 1597), but 2 Rajab 1006 = 30 January, 1598. Faizī Sirhindī has 5 Rajab 1006 = 2 February, 1598, Elliot VI. 132.

³ Cf. S. Lane Poole's Muḥammadan Dynasties, table of the house of Jūjī. I have altered the spelling of the names in text in one or two places.

Būqā, s. Shaiban, s. Jūjī, s. Cingīz K. Jūjī died before the Qān (Cingīz), and no great sovereign sprang from him, though some were rulers of Dasht Qipcāq. Among these Abū-ul-Khair attained some distinction. Sultān Abū S'aīd M. with his help took, after a battle, Samarkand from M. 'Abdullah, s. of Ibrāhīm M., s. of the great ruler Shahrukh M. When he died, there was a great confusion in the Uzbek tribe. After some time Shaibak K., s. Budāq K., s. Abu-l-khair, took shelter at the court of Sultān Aḥmad M., s. Sultān Abū S'aīd M., and was rescued from the hardship of fate.

When Sultān Abū S'aīd M. died, he raised up the head ¹ of independence in Tūrān and after Sultān Husain M.'s time Shaibak K. came to Khurāsan, and fought with his sons and took the country. Near Merv he fought with Shāh Ism'aīl Ṣafvī and was killed along with many others. The rule of Transoxiana then fell to Kotchkimji K., s. Abu-l-khair, who is also called Kocam K. When he died, his son Abū S'aīd K. succeeded him. After him came Ubayd-Ullah K., s. Maḥmūd K., s. Shāh Budāq, s. Abū-l-khair K., and Tūrān became somewhat civilised. He had two sons, 'Abdu-l-'azīz K., and Muḥammad Raḥīm Sultān. But the sovereignty went to Ubaid K., the son of Kocam K. Afterwards his brother 'Abdu-l-laṭīf mounted the throne. When he died,² Borak K., s. Soncak K., s. Abu-l-khair K., became ruler. He prevailed over Turkistan, Transoxiana, and some parts of Khurāsān. When his destiny was accomplished, there were provincial kings (Mulūk Tawāif). Darvesh K. and Baba K., his sons, ruled in Turkistān, and Burhān, grandson of 'Abdullah K., in Bokhārā. In Samarkand there was Sultān S'aīd K., s. Abū S'aīd K., s. Kocam K. In Balkh there was Pīr Muḥammad K., s. Jānī Beg K. 'Abdullah K. (his brother's son) was spending his days in his service. By skill and courage he prevailed over his kindred, and he said to Pīr Muḥammad K., "As there is no one in the tribe older than my father, it is fitting that in accordance with the ancestral laws, the proclamation and the coinage (*khutba-u-sikka*) should be in his name. Pīr Muḥammad was obliged to agree, and for a while the government was in his (Iskandar's) name while the real power was with

¹ Text *sir-i-āmbāzī*, but the MSS. have *sir-i-be-āmbāzī*.

² His real name was Nūrūz Aḥmad

and Vambéry says he was a son of Maḥmūd K. (the son of Yūnas).

‘Abdullah K. In the 27th Divine year Sikandar K. died and his son ‘Abdullah K. had the proclamation and the coinage made in his own name. When he died, his son Abdul-Mūmīn succeeded him.

On the 28th Bahman the lunar weighment took place, and there was a great feast in the quarters of Miriam Makānī. H.M. was weighed against eight articles, and various conditions of men obtained their desires.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

BEGINNING OF THE 43RD YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE
YEAR MIHR OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

On the night of Saturday, 13 *Shābān* 1006, 11 March 1598, after 9 hours, 1 minute, and 37 seconds, the sun entered Aries, and the old world renewed its youth. The seventh year of the fourth cycle began. For 19 days there was great feasting, and small and great received the material of enjoyment.

(*Verse*).

Omitted.

On New Year's day the news of the death of the ruler of *Tūrān* arrived, and many rejoiced. H.M. was indignant¹ and said that such rejoicing spoke of shortness of vision. He ('Abdullah) always showed himself well-inclined, and never dropped from his hand the thread of management. Even if this had not been the case, rejoicing was unseemly. From the time that H.M. came to the Panjab, his idea was to make an expedition for the conquest of *Tūrān*. When the ruler of that country had the dexterity to adopt submissiveness, the sovereign who loved to respect honour withheld himself from that purpose. When the tyranny of his son exceeded bounds, for some time the former idea revived, but out of regard to
739 dignity he desired that the expedition should march under the command of the Prince-Royal. That pleasure-loving youth, on account of the foolishness of flatterers, could not wean his heart from India. When the news came of 'Abdullah K.'s death, some leaders were eager for an expedition to *Tūrān*, but H.M. said, "Now that *Tūrān* is a seat of turmoil, how does an expedition there agree with our

¹ Cf. the enigmatical remark at J. III. 387. Probably the meaning there is that Akbar would rather have 'Abdullah alive than see him succeeded by his brutal son 'Abdul

Mūmīn. If therefore the darvish was one whose prayers were heard, his prayer for 'Abdullah's death would be injurious to Akbar.

humanity? It is far better that an able ambassador should be sent to offer condolences, and to speak words of counsel. On the 5th Fort Rāhūtara,¹ a dependency of Daulatābād in the Deccan, was taken. M. 'Alī Beg Akbar Shāhī invested it and after a month the garrison capitulated from want of water,² and delivered up the keys. On the 7th Mukhtār Beg had an audience. He was the Bakhshī of the province of Bihar. When that appointment was given back to Ulugh Beg Kābūlī, he was called to court. On the 14th Mīr Sharīf Āmulī and M. Farīdūn arrived from their fiefs and performed the *kornish*. On the 25th Sālbāhan was sent to the Deccan. When it became known that Prince Sultān Murād regarded the winning of people's affections an easy matter, and went somewhat aside from propriety, and that the Khānkhānān, owing to the ill-success of his evil wishes, had gone back to his *jāgīr*, that conscientious servant was sent off to bring the Prince to court, in order that H.M. might send him back again with good counsels. Rūp Khwāṣ was appointed to rebuke the Khānkhānān and to make him return in order that he might take charge of the army and the country until the Prince arrived. On the 31st 'Ibād Ullah, the son of 'Ahdullah K., was released from prison. In the eastern districts he behaved rebelliously, and after that he was captured and placed in the school of the prison of Kālinjar. As Ḥusain, the governor thereof, reported his penitence he was pardoned and treated with favour. On the 10th Ardībihisht, Khawāja Āshraf and S. Ḥusain came from Tūrān and did homage. The ruler thereof was pleased by their coming and by reading the weighty letter of the Shāhinshāh, and regarded their advent as a mark of concord. He sent Mīr Qoresh with them with valuable presents. He ('Abdullah K.) had sent them back on 10 Amardād, 20 July 1597, of the previous year. On hearing of the misbehaviour of his son ('Abdu-l-Mūmīn) they had turned back in the middle of the road. On 29 Shahriyūr, 9 September 1597, they met in with the Khān ('Abdullah) in Qursī, and took leave to return via Herat and Qandahār. Near Herat they heard of his death. The ambassadors by celerity and courage reached Qandahār, but Mīr Qoresh was not

¹ Text Āhūbara, but the variant Rāhūtara is supported by I.O. 236, and by B. 482, and the Maasir U. III. 356.

² Cf. B. 482, for remark of Maasir.

able to accompany them. On 14 Ardībihisht Abū-l-Qāsim, the son of Mīr 'Ādil, and on the 15th Sher K., the son-in-law of the Khān Kilān, died. Their survivors had the balm of princely favours applied to their hearts. On the 27th Rai Patr Dās came to court
740 from Bāndhū, and was exalted by princely kindness. From the time that he took that fort, he strove to develop the country. When the territory was given to Prince Daniel, he returned and performed the prostration. On this day Zain K. Koka came to Āhanposh¹ and conquered Tīrāh once more. By skill and courage he punished the wicked, and established forts in several places and located soldiers. The Tārīkī tribe retired into the ravines and their leader crept off to Koh Safed. The roads became safe.

One of the occurrences was the increasing of the vision of the writer. His idea was that he held a choice abode in the pleasant land of "Peace with all" and that he would not become agitated by troubles. In his simplicity (*khāmkārī*, rawness) he gathered pleasure from time to time and the hand of favour was stretched over the head of zeal. By good fortune he was awakened by a heart-lacerating blow and took up anew the task of spiritual amendment. Inasmuch as the world's lord kept him much employed, he was unable to attend to other matters. On this account he was unable to perform fully the outward service of attending upon the Prince-Royal and awkward explanations were not successful. From not fully considering the matter he (Selim) became somewhat angry, and base and envious people had their opportunity. The anger of that hot-tempered one blazed forth, and meetings were held for troubling his heart. Many untrue reports were (sold) as truths.

Verse.

The painter is bold, for without fear of God
 He limns Phoenix in full when he has never seen one.

Owing to the jugglery of the heavens the enlightened Shāhinshāh gave some heed (to these speeches). On 11 Khurdād, 21 May 1598, my soul was vexed by perceiving this and I withdrew my hand from everything and tucked my foot into my shirt. I shut my door in the face of both stranger and acquaintance. What the ancients

¹ See *ante*, p. 703.

used to say, viz. that "Service¹ quickly leads to high dignity, but owing to the triumph of envy even friends² rise up as antagonists" and what has not been said, becomes credited. Whenever he (Akbar) summoned me to court, and endeavoured to make me carry on my former duties I replied, "Since by the wondrous working of fortune, his (Akbar's) mystery-knowing heart has become somewhat loaded by the speeches of my old enemies, it is fitting that he leave me to myself, so that I may be lightened of the weight of life. If he³ hold me captive, willing or unwilling, he will obtain (only) formal service. From the beginning of my years of discretion my mind was not turned to the world; it was princely kindness which bound me to it, whether I wished or not. If he look for the old zeal, let the lord of the world sit in judgment. Let him make a thorough inquiry so that my honesty may be made manifest, and the envious be put to shame. If he forget⁴ the enmity of crowds of men and take not into account the old commotion and the new hostility, and base his inquiry upon witnesses, time servers⁵ shall regard telling lies in order to injure me as Divine worship. The proper course is that like Siyāwash⁶ I and my accuser⁷ enter the furnace so that proof's countenance may shine forth. Enviars by profession and the fabricators of stories withdraw from this and set their hearts upon witnesses.⁷ After this 741

¹ *Girau-peristārī*. Perhaps it also means here "betting" or "gambling." B.M. 112, 1116 has *gird peristārī* "the following of service."

² All the MSS. seem to insert *daulat* after *dostān* "friends of one's fortune."

³ Apparently this obscure sentence means that if Akbar keep him attached to the court, whether he will or no, he will get outward service, i.e. I will do my duty but there will be no spiritual zeal on my part.

⁴ The text is, "having swept from his mind," and evidently this does not mean to disregard or dismiss from one's mind in a good sense, but means if he forget or take not into

account. The MSS. have conjunction after *rufta*.

⁵ *Nekwān-i-zamāna*, lit. "good men of the age," but here used ironically or as equivalent to the expression *zamānasāz*, i.e. a time-server or opportunist. Possibly A. F. wrote *nakūhān* "slanderers" though all the MSS. seem to have *nekwān*.

⁶ His story is told in the *Shāhnāma*. He is the Hippolytus of Persia, having been falsely accused by his step-mother Sūdāba. He was thrown into the fire, but escaped scatheless. He was the son of Kai Kaus.

⁷ *Badgozar* "wicked one," but I.O. MSS. have *badgo*, and so have B.M. MSS. 1116 and 27247.

discussion, though H.M. came to understand somewhat their wickedness, yet my levity of mind (my folly) increased. Suddenly, the Divine aid cured my internal commotion. The idea was suggested to me (by the Divine influence, apparently): "If there is a place of repose for mortals, and you can always retire there, why are you so much troubled, and why do you cast away the thread of knowledge? The tongues of ill-wishers cannot be stopped. Do you take the right path so far as you know it. Your choice is to do God's work; what matters it about this man or that man." I came somewhat to myself, and intelligence returned. (But) because my eyes were not opened to my deliverance¹ and the farsightedness of the world's lord, feeling prevailed over wisdom, and sometimes I meditated my own destruction,¹ and sometimes I thought of becoming a vagabond. Suddenly² I passed to freedom and enlightenment; my condition changed unconsciously, and I reposed in calm. I said (to myself), "Do not suspect the farsighted sovereign of shortness of view. Your acuteness and steadiness have been impressed on his mind. Win over the hearts of ill-wishers. What are you thinking of that you should go headlong, and trouble yourself unnecessarily. Should you in a dream behold your sovereign and perceive him not to be vexed (with you), accept my (the internal monitor's) statement, and confess your own misunderstanding." The saying came true that very night, and my mental disturbance diminished. At this time I read in my horoscope: "In this year the world's lord became somewhat alienated owing to the false speeches of cotemporaries, but soon the veil over the face of affairs was removed." My distress entirely subsided, and when I read³ that my sovereign was appreci-

¹ Text *rāstkārī*, "honesty," but I.O. MS. 236 has *rastkārī*, "deliverance," and this seems a much better reading. The text has *darbāzīde* "played with," or "staked" and so has the Newal Kishore edition. Probably this is the true reading.

² The sentence is obscure. Possibly the meaning is that A. F. referred the matter to some independent and enlightened soul, and that the result was the advice given in the text.

³ Ordinarily the words would mean that Akbar sent for him, and perhaps this is the meaning here, but as apparently Akbar had done so before and A. F. did not go, I have thought that the meaning here is that A. F. saw from his dream that Akbar was favourably disposed towards him.

ative, the image of my former desire was erased, I went to court and was cheered by various favours.¹

Verse.

You heard how he urged on the steed of love's surcease
And how no dust of reproach rose from under the heel.

¹ Presumably it was about this time that Prince Salīm showed to his father what he regarded as a proof of A. F.'s hypocrisy, viz. that he was employing forty clerks to make copies of the Qoran and a commentary thereon, while he was professing to Akbar to be a believer in the Divine Faith. See the *Māaṣīr* II. 610. The same authority says that the courtiers induced Akbar to send A. F. to the Deccan in order that they might get him away from the emperor. The *Iqbāl-nāma* says the same thing, and A. F. mentions, *infra* p. 749, top line, that his enemies procured that he should be sent to the Deccan to bring away Prince Murād. The *Iqbāl-nāma* version of A. F.'s disgrace seems to be different from that in the *Māaṣīr*. The latter seems to say that A. F.'s offence, as revealed by Salīm, was his privately reverencing the Qoran while to Akbar he professed to be a follower of the Divine Faith. What the *Iqbāl-nāma* says (under the 43rd year) is that Akbar was displeased on account of A. F.'s having made numerous copies of his father's commentary and sent them to foreign potentates. Akbar had been displeased with Mubārik for writing the commentary without reference to him, or perhaps for not dedicat-

ing it to him, and he was again displeased when A. F. sent out copies without permission. Cf. the *Darbārī Akbarī*, p. 471. If what Bada-yūnī says be true, B. XI. and Bada-yūnī III. 74, viz. that the preface to the commentary contained a claim by Mubārik to be the reformer of the Age, Akbar would naturally be displeased at the circulation of the work. The *Iqbāl-nāma* says that A. F. was guilty of many acts of presumption against the Prince and that Akbar excluded A. F. from the *kornish* for some days. It adds that Akbar finally had compassion on one whom he had himself cherished, and restored him to his old position of boundless favour.

Apparently A. F. resolved to take an omen, i.e. he said to himself that if he saw Akbar's countenance in a dream and perceived him to be well-inclined towards him he would be satisfied. The word *namūdār* in the text, p. 741, l. 11, has the technical sense of "the scheme of a horoscope." It occurs also at p. 114, line 9, where A. F. describes another dream that he had. See also II. 297 where the word *namūdār* is used with reference to a religious exercise undertaken by his father Mubārik in order to ascertain the future.

On the 17th Rai Patr Dās was made Dīwān. An order was given that as in the case of Moẓaffar K. and Rajah Todar Mal, he and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn should help one another in carrying on the work. In a short time the affairs of the Panjāb were left to the Khwāja. Apparently interested motives prevailed and prevented the sovereign from looking closely into the matter. On the 27th Kaliyār¹ Bahādur did homage, and was exalted by royal favours, and received the title of Bahādur K. He was one of the army-leaders of Tūrān. ‘Abdullah K. gave Herāt to him. When ‘Abdullah K. died, and the old servants became dispersed on account of
742 his son’s improper conduct, Kaliyār quickly came to Qandahār, and from there to court, and obtained his heart’s desire. On 1 Tīr, Hasan K.—who was an old servant—died of illness, and Khwājagī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, the grandson of Khwāja ‘Abdullah Marwārīd—who was for some time Ṣadr—died in Delhi. H.M.’s kindness took care of the survivors. On the 5th Jagat Singh, Hāshim Beg, and other soldiers from the northern mountains, obtained audiences, and were rewarded for their good service. They brought Malūk Cand, the Rajah of Nagarkot, to court, and he was exalted by gifts and forgiveness.

One of the occurrences was a fresh proof of H.M.’s knowledge of mysteries. During the lifetime of ‘Abdullah K., the ruler of Tūrān, when news came of his son’s indecent conduct, H.M. said: “If he does not refrain from evil deeds, he will not have any share of youth or of dominion, but will soon go down into the pit of annihilation.” When he took to troubling his father, H.M. said, “It is strange that his death is being delayed.” At this time that man of crooked ways did die, and heaped up everlasting disgust (for himself). When ‘Abdullah K. died, Usbeg K., his cousin, invested Samarkand, and Muḥammad Bāqī defended it. He failed and returned to Akhsī. Tawakal came to besiege Bokhāra, and he, on hearing of the coming of ‘Abdu-l-Mūmīn, retired without effecting his purpose. The garrison came out and fought and he was wounded and went off, and died of the wound. Ten days afterwards ‘Abdu-l-Mūmīn came with

¹ There is a variant and from the MSS. it would appear that the name is Kulbād Bahādur. Kulbād is a

Turanian hero mentioned in the Shāhnāma.

a large force and sate on the throne in Samarkand, and made Muḥammad Bāqī his *Vakīl*. Qul Bābā, who was his father's *Vakīl*, and whom the son disliked for his honest speech, was seized by his faithless servants and brought from Herat. In consequence of an old grudge he put him to death. He also sent after him (i.e. killed) those who had brought him. Many lost their lives in these disturbances. From there he went to Tāshkēnd, and put to death Dastam¹ Sultān his own uncle with his two sons, who had long been living in retirement. Then he invested Akhsī in order to attack Uzbek Sultān. After three days the latter died of illness. Then he returned to Samarkand and Bokhāra. On account of the heat he marched at night. Some lay in wait for him, and on the 9th (Tīr = 19 June, 1598) they shot him with arrows near Zāmin, and Transoxiana became subject to provincial rulers. On the 10th Āṣaf K. arrived. When H.M. was somewhat satisfied about the administration of Kashmīr he summoned him to come post. In three days he traversed hills and plains, and arrived at court, and was received with royal favour. On the 24th Bhāwal² Anaga died. She was the daughter of Rai Jogā Parhār. In the time of Firdus Makāni 743 (Bābur) her father sent her to serve Jinnat Ashiyānī when he was in the eastern districts. Her form and manners were approved, and for some time she was exalted by being in the harem. When

¹ Faizī Sirhindī has Dostam and speaks of three sons.

² See translation I, p. 130, and Errata and Addenda, p. vi. Here A. F. says that she was the first to suckle Akbar, though at p. 130 he makes her third. Cf. Darbārī Akbarī 749. Bhawāl's husband is there called Jalāl Koka, but Goīnda seems to be the correct title. It is also said there that it was Bābur who sent her to Humāyūn, but it now seems to me that it was her own father who sent her. Would it not be *fristadand* if Bābur were meant, and why should it be said that she was sent in the time of Bābur if it

was Bābur himself who sent her. Parihār is a Rājput caste. Tod has given an account of them, and states that they belong to the Agnicula section and that they are scattered over Rajasthan. He calls them Pritihara or Purihara. Their capital was at Mandawar, 5 m. N. Jodhpūr. Perhaps Bhāwal means Bhāwal in the Dacca district, and means that she lived there, or that she was sent to Humāyūn when he was in that neighbourhood. But most probably, the name is Bahāwal, a contraction for Baha Ullah, the value, or the gift of God.

Miriam-Makāni was married (to Humāyūn) she was united to Jalāl Goīnda (singer or reciter). She was the first to give milk to the world's lord. She spent her life in propriety. H.M. was grieved at her departure, and begged forgiveness for her from God. On the 32nd Jagannāth did homage. He took leave from Prince Sultān Murād and went to his own home, and came to court without orders. For some time he was not admitted to an audience. On this day compassion was taken on his simplicity and he was received with favour. In this year Pattan of the Deccan was taken. It is an ancient city on the banks of the Godavery. M. 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī took it. The enemy fought and then fled. At this time great favour was shown to the cultivators in Afghanistan. On 25 Amar-dād $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the rental of Kabul and its dependencies was remitted for eight years, and many men rejoiced. On 31st M. Kaiqubād had a son. He was the elder son of M. Ḥakīm. H.M. married him to the daughter of 'Āqil Ḥusain M., the brother of Muḥammad Ḥusain M. At this time she brought forth a son. H.M. had a feast of joy, and gave him the name of Hormuz. On 1 Shahrīyūr Āṣaf K. returned to Kashmīr, after receiving many instructions. On the 9th Maulānā¹ Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād died. He possessed a knowledge of rational and traditional sciences. He obtained his heart's desire by becoming a disciple² of H.M. On the 18th Sarmast, the son of Dastam K. died. He passed away in his youth from drinking. On the 31st Sher Beg Yasawālbāshī was sent to Bengal in order to get information about that country. He was also to

¹ See B. 106 and 209. He appears to have translated the Rajah Taranginī from Sanskrit into Persian, and Badayūnī was employed to revise it. Lowe, 386. See also Rieu, Cat. I. 296. The text has some words to indicate what disease Shāh Muḥammad died of. But unfortunately I do not understand them nor does the variant, nor the readings in the MSS. clear up the difficulty. The text has *بعدم فلوئی* *bā'adam falūnī?* and the variant is *falaghmūnī*. I think that *'adam* should be *warm* as in

an I.O. MS. and that the second word should be *balgham* or *balghamīya* and that the disease meant is what the dictionaries call *morbus phlegmaticus*, or in Arabic *امراض بلغمي*. Meninski says *warm baghalmak* means *phthisis*. The Newal Kishore ed. has a useful note explaining that the disease is *zahr-bād* i.e. *quinsey*. The word *falaghmūnō* is evidently the Greek word *phlegmonē* meaning inflammation under the skin.

² Cf. B. 208, 209 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 386.

choose some of the choice elephants of the officers as presents. In this year and month the folly of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. of Qandahār was again pardoned. As improper Turks opened the hand of oppression it was arranged that he should have a money-allowance instead of administrative power, and his fiefs were made crown-lands. He took leave to go to Mecca and went off. At the first stage he got bewildered by the hardships and his own feebleness, and was ashamed of his volatility. H.M. recognised his rank and recalled him. On 1 Mihr he was exalted by doing homage. On the 11th the fort of Pūnā¹ was taken. It is one of the famous forts of Berār, and is situated on a hill. It has a river on three sides which is never fordable. Bahādur-al-Mulk and some brave men surrounded it. Naṣīb-al-Mulk was aroused by want of food and surrendered the keys⁷⁴⁴ and submitted. On the 26th October 1598, Khwāja² Ashraf died. He was the son of Khwāja ‘Abdu-l-bārī, and by the interval of two generations he is the son of Khwāja Aḥrār. After delivering² the message from Tūrān he fell ill, and died. On the 29th Sālbahān and Rūp had the honour of an audience. Prince Sultān Murād designed to come to court when he was summoned, but the leaders did not abandon their interested views and petitioned to the effect that the departure of the prince would cause confusion. After this, whatever order was issued would be obeyed, and the Khān-khānān represented that he would return and that the Prince would come. H.M. did not approve and was displeased. On the 30th the solar weighment took place. H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. The world rejoiced, and the empty-handed had happy times. On this day Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram came from Agra, and was exalted by favours. In this year and month Partāb Singh, the son of Rajah Bhagwant Dās, became mad and tried to kill himself. He put a dagger to his throat, and his condition became critical. By H.M.’s orders skilful men served up the wound and he recovered.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Gāwāl. There is not a stronger fort in Berār. It has abundance of good

¹ Panār of the Āīn, J. II. 229 and 233.

² B. 512. He returned from Turān in April 1598: see p. 739. Probably

the meaning is that he was Khwāja Aḥrār’s great grandson. Khwāja Aḥrār died in February 1490.

water and inside are the quarters of the governor. From the time that this country had been added to the empire, it had not been taken owing to the perversity of the generals. At this time Mīr Martazā¹ took upon himself to take it by craft. He made his quarters in the neighbourhood, and assumed some of the majesty of eternal dominion. Owing to scarcity of food, his pleasing speeches were accepted, and on the 9th Ābār Wajāu-d-dīn and Biswās Rai delivered up the keys. They received dignities, fiefs and presents and entered on service. On the 10th, near Pathrī, 35 wild female elephants appeared. Sher Khwāja assembled soldiers and captured them all. The strange thing was that their ordinary feeding grounds were 150 *kos* away. On 11th Ajmere was given in fief to Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, and he went off to it. On the 12th the Khān-khanān came to court and was exalted by doing homage. The gracious sovereign forgave his crooked ways and summoned him to his presence. Perhaps counsels might make him straight. Next day Qulīj K. had the bliss of doing homage. He had been somewhat displeased while serving Sultān Daniel and had left him. From a desire of justice he was admitted to an audience.

745 One of the occurrences was the arrival of the Persian ambassadors. It was² reported that when Zīya-al-Mulk, and Abū Nāṣir arrived there, Shāh ‘Abbās behaved like a dutiful child and made the Shāhinshāh’s slipper—which the ambassadors had with them—the diadem of good fortune. He accepted the regulations (*dastūrnāma*) of the world’s commander and gathered bliss by acting in accordance therewith. He sent Minūcihr³ Beg, who was one of his special servants, with a submissive letter, and despatched choice presents. On the 23rd he had the bliss of an audience, and was exalted by princely favours.

¹ B. 449.

² *Guzārada āmid*. This expression would seem to imply that A. F. had already mentioned this circumstance but the passage does not occur in the text. The statement about Akbar’s slipper seems extraordinary. Perhaps it is metaphorical. Perhaps *guzārada āmid* only means that it was now reported (by those who came

with Minucar) what ‘Abbās had done. The letter which Shāh ‘Abbās sent with Minuchr appears in I.O. MS. 2067, old No. 379, p. 41. It is very long, very obscure, and uninteresting.

³ We learn from Du Jarric, p. 77, that he was a Georgian Christian, and that the Jesuits baptised his children.

There were 101 choice 'Irāq horses, and among them was a horse which was five years old and had come from the sea of Gīlān (the Caspian). It had only two or three hairs on the mane and tail. It was very choice, and its performances were unrivalled, but it died on the way. There were choice mares (*qisrāq*), one of which was valued at 5,000 rupīs. There were 300 pieces of brocade—all woven by the hands of noted weavers—and fifty masterpieces of *Ghīās*¹ Naqshband, and wonderful carpets, which cost in Persia 300 *tumāns* a pair; also choice coverlets (*takyanamad*), splendid *pāīncas*, also, turkish pavilions, embroidered mattresses, various seeds, and 9 goats (Murgaz) whose fleeces yield wool (*ṣūf*) and silk (*khārā*), as well as other rarities, and 500 Turkamans in rich dresses. There were also numerous 'Irāqī horses in the caravan.

On this day the Prince-Royal introduced Rajah Bāsu, and his wavering was pardoned.

¹ B. 88.

CHAPTER CXXXV.

EXPEDITION FOR THE TAKING OF AHMADNAGAR.

The intention of the *Shāhinshāh* was to send the victorious troops under the command of the Prince-Royal to Tūrān, and to include that ancestral territory within the empire. As that nursling¹ of dominion, owing to the intrigues of some worshippers of India, did not give his mind to this enterprise, H.M.'s idea was that when his other sons should come to do homage, he would send whichever of them showed an inclination for the task. At this time foolish and envious talkers represented that Prince Sultān Murād had no intention of coming to court, and they quoted the unbecoming speeches of this and that person. They also pointed out improper behaviour on the part of Prince Daniel, who had already hastened off from Allahabad. H.M. resolved on making an expedition to the south by the route of Agra. If the reports were true, he would first give his mind to remedying matters there, and afterwards would conquer the Deccan, for the troops had long gone there, and the work had been protracted on account of interested motives. Afterwards, if fortune favoured him, he would make an expedition to Tūrān. As it was the

746 fourteenth year since his advent to the Panjab, and numbers of men had become attached to the place, they did not approve of this expedition (to the Deccan). While they made the disturbance of the homeless Tārīkīs a pretext for abstaining from it, and sometimes they brought forward the commotion of the rebels in the northern hills. From the activity of the market of dissimulation, there was some delay, but as Almighty God did not permit what was proper for eternal dominion's being passed over, H.M.'s first design grew stronger, and on 26 Ābān (about 6 November, 1598), after one hour twelve minutes of the night of Thursday, he set off on an elephant,

¹ Cf. Jahāngīr's remarks, Price's *Jahāngīr*, p. 31, where he says that he derived from his father his in-

clination to make an expedition to Samarkand.

Miriam-Makānī, and the other Begams, and Sultān Khurram, were left in Lahore. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was appointed to look after the court and the province. Mīr Murād was Mīr Bakhshī, and Malik Khair Ullah was appointed to be Kotwāl. On the 30th, Abu-l-qāsim Tamkīn¹ arrived from Kashmīr at the first stage, and had the honour of an audience. On 13 Āzar H.M. crossed the river Bīāh (Beas) on an elephant at Gobindwāl, while the troops crossed by a bridge. On this day the house of Arjun Kūr (Kūrū) received fresh lustre by the advent of the Shāhinshāh. His forefathers had been, one after the other, the leaders of the Brahman caste. He entreated much, and, as his desire sprang from devotion, it was gratified. At this time the fort of Melgarha² in Berār was taken. Mas'aūd K. Hābshī held it. He also took Sika³ (?) Jalgāon by craft. First he sent his family inside, and by that pretence conveyed some people thither, and so prevailed over it. Prince Sultān Murād sent Sundar Dās with some men. He invested it. On the 19th the garrison capitulated, and delivered up the keys. In this year Walī⁴ Beg, the son of Payinda K., came from Bengal, and was exalted by doing homage. Part of his peshkash (offering) was twenty-two choice elephants.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Narnāla.⁵ Hamān,⁶ a native of Zanzībar, held it. He did not accept the persuasions of the enlightened. By the exertions of Rai Gopāl, Dangar⁷ K. Gond took the side of concord, and some members of the families of the garrison, who had come out, were seized. He became helpless and made his submission. When the prince came out to see the spectacle of Gārwil, he passed by that fort (Narnāla), and the governor came out and paid his respects. On the 20th he made it over to the imperial servants. It has few equals for height, strength, capacious-

¹ Should be Namakīn: see B. 470.

² Sīlgarha in text, but Melgarha in MSS. See J. II. 229 and 234.

³ There is a doubtful word here. Jalgaon appears to be the place in Sarkār Narnālah in Berar mentioned at J. II. 234. For "and Sika" the text has "Wasika." There is also a variant.

⁴ B. 518.

⁵ Parnāla in text. It is the Narnāla of J. II. 229 and 234.

⁶ Or Samān. Zangī nizād, a negro.

⁷ Dongar means a forest: see B. 494 2. 1. Dongar K. is mentioned at J. II. 229.

ness and quantity of buildings. The Prince went to the top of it, and from there returned to Shāhpūr. On this day the fort of Mānpūr was taken. Mīrzā K. (the Khān-khānān) had invested it for some time, but as he made no special efforts, the Prince recalled him, and sent Nazar K. with some men. Zangū Nānū, Haibat Rāo, 'Alī K., Garz Rai and others, several times came out and fought, **747** but from want of provisions they capitulated.

On the 21st H.M. crossed the Sutlej at Lūdhīāna on an elephant, and the troops crossed by a bridge. Next day M. Shāhrukh did homage. An order had been sent, summoning him, and on 1 Shāh-rīyūr he took leave from Prince Sultān Murād. On the 26th H.M. halted at Sirhind. Abū S'aīd the collector there had long since built¹ some houses there. He begged for H.M.'s visit, and he accepted and came there at the close of the day. When it became known that he had built them with oppression, H.M. did not remain there long, and though his tents had not been set up, and the night was dark, he went off, and reposed in the fields.² Next morning he visited the delightful gardens, and practised both pleasure and piety (*'īshrat-u-'ibādat*). On this day Calabī³ Beg paid his respects, and was favourably received. His ancestors were the chief men of Tabrīz. In early youth he devoted himself to learning. In Qazwīn he studied with Khawāja Afzal Turk, who was the unique of the age for intellect—in Shīrāz he studied with M. Jān, who had few equals in philosophy, and acquired much knowledge. When his abilities and his princely lineage were made known to H.M., an order was sent for him to come, together with many presents. He obtained his desires at this seat of dominion, but afterwards old age and love for his home took him back again.

One of the occurrences was the remitting of [the increase of] the ten to twelve to the Panjab. When Lahore was for some time the seat of government, the imperial officers increased the government share⁴ in the proportion of ten to twelve on account of

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma says the houses were built under Akbar's orders, and the labourers complained that they had not been paid, etc.

² Faizī Sirhindī tells the story with a little more detail.

³ The Iqbāl-nāma seems to call him Jagatī Beg. The text has Calpī. A letter of Akbar's sending for him to his court is the last letter of the first book of the Inshā.

⁴ The MS., lithographed and

the high prices. When it appeared that by the departure of the auspicious standards, prices returned to their former level, the just sovereign remitted the increase, and small and great were much relieved. On 4 Dai Haidarī the son of the Khān-khānān¹ was burnt. He fell asleep in the serai after drinking, a fire arose and on account of insensibility he could not get out. On the 5th, M. Moẓaffar² Husain (Akbar's son-in-law) came from Qanauj and obtained his wish by doing homage. As it appeared that from drinking he did not follow the path of justice, he was summoned to the presence to be warned. On the 7th Māh Bānū the sister of the Khān Ā'zim M. Koka died. She was wife of the Khān-khānān, and was distinguished for intellect and purity. Her illness increased in Ambāla, and she was left behind there. The two officers took leave for some days, and in that month and year she died. H.M. was grieved, and interceded for her pardon. On the 8th Rustum M. was wounded while hunting. The hawk³ belonging to the son of Rai Sāl sate on a tree. The Mīrzā's companions seized it and some Rajputs fought. The Mīrzā went there to quiet matters. Suddenly he was struck on the arm with a sword. He had the 748 intelligence to send the misconducted ones to Rai Sāl. The far-seeing sovereign praised him for his endurance and humanity. On the 19th Abū-l-Qāsim Namakīn received Bhakkar⁴ in fief, and was

printed copies of the Akbarnāma have *dah-doazdah*. In the Board of Examiner's MS. copy, the word *sāla* appears to have been interpolated between *dah-doazdah*, and the following word *Panjab*, but it makes no sense. The original tax was increased by two, i.e. from ten to twelve, which means that the increase was by two-ten, i.e. $\frac{1}{5}$ or 20%. (Note by Phil. Secretary).

¹ There is the variant Khān Ja-hān. Haidarī is not mentioned by Blochmann as one of K. K.'s sons, nor does the Maasir Umarā name him. But see Darbārī A., pp. 620 and 645.

² This Moẓaffar Husain is called Khwesh in the text to distinguish him from Moẓaffar Husain Ṣafavī. The Moẓaffar H. of the text was a Timuride and his mother was Gulrukh Begam d. M. Kāmran. Akbar gave him his eldest daughter Sultan Khā-nam in marriage.

³ Bāsha. The text prints the word without any 'izāfat as if bāsha was the name of Rai Sāl Darbārī's son. But I think it must here mean a hawk. See the Maasir III. 440. where the story is told, and where bāsha is printed with an 'izāfat.

⁴ Text wrongly has Bihār. See MSS., and B. 471.

sent off to guard it. On this day S. Sultān¹ was hanged. He was one of the learned. The desire of a collectorship made him mad. Thāneswar, which was his home, was made over to him. Owing to the intoxication of the world, he renewed his old grudges and set himself to hurt the good. When H.M. came there, the circumstance was mentioned, and some of his tyranny was proved. He obtained the punishment of his deeds. On the 19th H.M. encamped at Delhi. Next day the desire² of S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī was granted. There was an offering of *péshkash* and scattering of money. Some of them were accepted (by H.M.). From thence he went by boat to the tomb of Jannat (Humāyūn) Āshiyānī, and paid the tribute of respect to the jewel of greatness. At this time the government of Delhi was made over to Mīr ‘Abdu-l-Wahhāb Bokhārī. As it appeared that Shāham K. had made over the city to some avaricious people, and lived himself at his ease, while the weak were subjected to injustice, he was removed and censured. The Saiyid³ was brought out from retirement and appointed to this service, and raised to the rank of 500.

¹ B. 104. The Iqbāl-nāma calls him a *krorī*, and says the ryots petitioned against him. Badayūnī also says he was a *krorī*. He spent four years in translating the Mahābhārat.

² Apparently he was admitted to an interview. He is the Murtaza K. of Jahangir's Memoirs.

³ ‘Abdu-l-Wahhāb. He was a learned man, B. 546. Jahangir removed him on account of the misconduct of his subordinates. Tūzuk J. 35, p. 75 of translation. For Shāham K. (Jalāīr) see B. 410.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

AGRA, THE CAPITAL, RECEIVES GLORY BY THE COMING OF THE
SHĀHINSHĀH.

H.M. marched and administered justice for two months, twenty-one days. From every place he received new grandeur. Three days he halted in order to give men repose. Crowds of men obtained varied joys, and gifts were showered. The appreciative sovereign won the heart of every one by special consideration. He alighted in the august fortress. Everywhere there was feasting and banqueting.

Verse.

See how the victorious standards arrive.

The news of victory and joy have reached the sun and moon.

The sphere-circle rejoices for the moon has come.

The world has got its desire now that the Shāh has come.

His intention¹ was not to enter the city but to proceed on southwards. But as his heart was uneasy on account of the delay in the arrival of the princes, and as praters continually wove new tales, he drew his rein and stopped to reflect. Fresh summons were issued to the princes. Inasmuch as the writer of the noble volume always held to his own opinion without respect of persons, and represented in an eloquent manner what was good for the State, those **749** who sought for an opportunity and were crooked in their ways represented their own interested views. In consequence of their intrigues I was sent off on the 25th² (Dai, about 5th January, 1599) to bring Prince Sultān Murād. An order was given that if the officers of the Deccan should take upon themselves the supervision of the country, I was to come to court with the Prince. Otherwise I was to send him off and to work in harmony with the others, and to act

¹ Cf. translation in Elliot VI. 96.

² In the *Āīn J.* II. 191, A. F. speaks of being at Ujjain on his way to the Deccan on 23rd Farwardīn of

the 43rd year, being a week after the Sipra had flowed with milk. I think this must be a mistake for the 44th year.

according to the opinion of M. Shāhrukh. On this account the Mīrzā received a flag and a drum and was sent to Mālwa in order that in his own fiefs he might equip the soldiers. When he was recalled to the Deccan he was to go quickly. On this day M. Rustum received Raisīn and its territory in fief and was sent off there. Shāhbāz K. was sent to Ajmere in order that he might chastise the Rānā's officers. Every one of the servants got a choice horse and a special *khil'at*. The writer of the noble volume received in addition a warlike (*mast*) elephant. On the 28th the ambassador of Kashghar arrived. The sovereign (Akbar) had sent skilful men with some presents, but on account of the insecurity of the roads they could not proceed. Muḥammad K. on hearing of this became (lit. grew big) exultant and remembered to return thanks. He sent off Mīr Imām to the court with presents, but on the way he was plundered. He arrived with the letter and was favourably received. On the day S'aīd K. arrived from Behar and did homage. On 1st Isfandārmaz¹ the fort of Lohagarha belonging to Daulatābād was taken. M. 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī invested it for about a month, and the garrison being in want of food and water, capitulated and delivered up the keys. On the 3rd Mīr 'Ātrif Ardibilī died in Agra. They said he was the son of Sām M. Ṣafavī. He was an ascetic and a solitary. Wonderful tales are told of him. On the 11th the quarters of M. Koka were glorified (by Akbar's arrival), and H.M., by sympathetic words, soothed his mother who was in grief for Māh Bānū and was nearly dying. She had been detained for a while at the place where her daughter died, and now arrived. By the life-giving medicine of kindness she obtained existence.

At this time the Persian ambassador arrived. When the ruler of Tūrān died, Shāh 'Abbās conceived the idea of making an expedition to Khurāsān. He defeated Atam² Sultān, a relation of 'Abdullah K., in a great battle and took that country. M. 'Alī Beg Yūzbāshī was sent by him to court with a humble letter and some choice horses and other presents. He regarded this victory as the result of the amity of H.M., and recited his thanks. On the 25th he was exalted by performing the prostration, and was gratified by princely favours.

¹ Cf. translation in Elliot VI. 97.

² Or Tatam Sultān.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

BEGINNING OF THE 44TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, VIZ.
THE YEAR ĀBĀN OF THE 4TH CYCLE.

On Sunday, 23rd Shābān 1007, 11th March, 1599, after the passing of 3 hours, 13 minutes, the world-lighting sun cast his rays on Aries. Now, Divine bounty took possession of the old world, and the withered-up earth assumed a new countenance. H.M. adorned the throne with thanksgiving, and sate on the summit of justice and liberality.

Verse.

The old world became young again.

It assumed violet tresses and tulip-cheek.

The ground seemed from the abundance of flowers and verdure

Such that it might be called a sky full of stars.

There was joy upon joy till the day of the culmination (*sharaf*). The hearts of high and low expanded. On the New Year's day Prince Sultān Daniel had an audience, and glorified his brow by performing the prostration. He civilised the province of Allahabad by justice and activity, and in accordance with the Shāhinshāh's orders he abandoned drinking, in which he had exceeded. When Fort Bāndhū had been assigned to that nursling of fortune, and he had gone there to see it, and had come from there to Hājīpūr, Dalpat Ujjainiya—who had become rebellious on account of the strength of his place and of his abundant equipment—came forward and paid his respects to him. He presented choice elephants. Then out of smallness of wisdom he took the resolution to fly, but was arrested and brought to court. After this landowner had been put straight, he (Daniel) went on some way to hunt and to put down the rebels. When he heard of the stories fabricated by interested persons, he left off everything and returned and came to court. On 27th Isfandārmaz he sent a petition from the other side of the Jumna and did not obtain leave to have an audience. On the beginning of the august

feast he was summoned and treated with favour. Among the choice presents were 206 noted elephants, nine of which obtained the special rank. H.M. was delighted to see his son and the praters and strife-mongers withdrew their heads into the pocket of shame. Kīcak Khwājah, Iftikhār Beg, Hasan Qulī, Walī Beg, and many companions, performed the *kornish*. On this day Lāla, the son of Rajah Bīrbar, came from Bengal. He had been sent to advise some officers and to bring elephants if he found any remarkable ones. He presented 16 choice elephants. On the 6th Rām Singh, the son of Madhkar, glorified his brow by doing homage. He had long been uproarious, but on the arrival of the august standards he awoke and took the path of service, and was treated with favour. On the 11th Āṣaf K. was exalted by performing the prostration. In compliance with the august orders he arrived within eight¹ days from Kashmīr and was exalted by princely favours. On this day Rajah Rāj Singh had an audience. He was in the Deccan army. He was sent for, and he obeyed. Also Catar Bhūj obtained this favour. His father Jagman was one of the proprietors of Mālwa. When he died, Catar Bhūj applied to the court and obtained the rajahship in his room.

At this time Kherlah² was taken. It is one of the renowned forts of Berār, and is on the border between it and Gondwāna. Prince Sultān Murād sent some people under the charge of S. Ibrāhīm, and it was invested. There were great fights. When provisions became somewhat scarce, Saiyid Husain, Biswās Rai, and others of the garrison, awoke from the slumber of presumptuousness. On the 13th (Farwardīn) they capitulated and surrendered the keys. In return they received dignities and estates. On the 14th Samānjī K., Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, and 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, came from their fiefs. On the 19th Jagat Singh came to court from Nāgor, and was received with favour. On the 23rd Qāsim Beg Tabrīzī died. He had undergone great sufferings in spiritual contemplation, and many delightful Sūfic expressions

¹ The text has twenty, but the variant eight is supported by the I.O. MS. 236 and the Iqbāl-nāma and is no doubt right. Āṣaf K. seems to have been famed for his rapid trav-

elling and twice came from Cashmere to Lahore in three days.

² J. II. 229. Cf. translation in Elliot VI. 97.

fell from his lips. On the 25th the Badakhshān ambassador arrived. When Transoxiana became held by provincial kings, a base fellow of that hill country gave out that he was Muḥammad Zamān, a son of M. Shāhrukh, while another called himself Humāyūn, the son of M. Sulaimān. They interviewed one another and divided the territory. The first sent a supplicatory letter to court by N'iamat Ullah. He struck Shahinshāh coins from Kabul¹ gold and sent them with some horses as a present. He explained how he had escaped from the tumult in Kabul and expressed his ashamedness for the catastrophe of Qāsim K. Though many did not believe him and regarded him as an impostor, he was received with favours. On 8th Ardībihisht Nūrāi (?) Aḥadī was executed. He drank wine with an Armenian² (?) in the portico of Sharīf. They quarrelled and he went to his house and killed him. He met with his deserts.

One of the occurrences was the taking of Nāsik, which belongs to Aḥmadnagar. Two months previously Prince Sultān Murād appointed Baharjeo and some Khāndesh soldiers to that quarter. Azmat K. was appointed the Amīn of the force. He knit together the hearts of the leaders. There were great combats and on the 10th the troops prevailed. On the 11th the writer arrived near Burhānpūr. Bahādur K., the ruler of Khāndesh, received him four kos from 752 Āsīr.³ He received as a servant the holy *firmān* and the *khil'at*, and performed the prostration. Though he showed a desire that I should stay some days with him I did not agree. Next day I left Burhānpūr and halted after crossing the Taptī.⁴ At the end of the day it blew hard, and there was much rain. Next day I was compelled to halt. Bahādur K. came and spent the day with me. When I⁵ had spoken many bitter-seeming but sweetly intended words of guidance about the Deccan expedition, he from self-indulgence proceeded to offer excuses (for not personally taking part in it), and sent off Kabīr K., his son, with 2,000 horse. He wished to take me to his house, and to show me hospitality. I replied that I

¹ Text *Kāmil*. But the variant Kābul is supported by MSS.

² So the variant. Possibly however the name is Sharīf Armanī. Or *Sharif* may here mean the royal portico.

³ J. II. 223.

⁴ The variant is supported by the MSS. See J. II. 223.

⁵ Though I have used the first person, the text uses the third.

would accept it if he accompanied me. When he saw that this avenue was closed, he sent me some presents. I represented that I had made a vow to God that I would not take anything from any one unless four conditions were fulfilled: "1st, Friendship; 2nd, That I should not over-value the gift; 3rd, That I should not have been anxious to get a present; 4th, That I should be in need of it. I grant that three conditions have been fulfilled. But how can we get over the fourth? The Shāhinshāh's kindness has erased the figure of wish. In¹ the market of enlightened action, silver and gold have become a burden." He was astonished at the nobleness of the language.

¹ The sentence is very obscure, but I think the meaning must be that money is an impediment to good service. B. in his life of A. F. has translated part of the passage. The

text has *bār dar bar*, but the MSS. have *bazārdar* and this seems correct. The reading in text may mean, silver and gold have frequently detracted from good service.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

DEATH OF SULTĀN MURĀD.

It is a thousand pities that the wine of this tavern contains lees¹ and that the cane of this sugar-plantation is a coating to deadly poison. The intoxication of this joyous banquet is followed by the crapulousness of sorrow, and the wisdom of this feast ends in the vapours of failure. Whose liver does not bleed for this fatal event? Whose eyes do not shed tears of blood? This heap of earth must pass away and be abandoned, and this dark abyss cannot be lighted up. All the links that have been put together must be severed, and all must drink the bitter waters. Shall I rehearse the jugglery of the old world, or the strong-headedness of fate? He was good of action, and a lover of propriety. He had an open heart, and a liberal hand, and had courage along with gravity. He sought to win hearts and searched for inspiration from those who were outwardly dust-stained but were inwardly bright. Owing to the wickedness of selfish and presumptuous men, some vexation arose, and some leaders² of the army set themselves to hamper work. He returned unsuccessful from Aḥmadnagar and fell into chronic grief. The brightness of his discretion did not remain, and he gave up to some extent the task of conciliating hearts, and he could not distinguish hypocrisy from humility. When his son³ died, the jewel of wisdom grew dim, and he set himself down to drink in company with foolish sensual-**753**ists. Excessive drinking brought on epilepsy, and he did not apply his mind to getting better. He concealed his pains and did not digest his food. On 13th Ābān of the previous year he went off to visit Gāwīl, and after seeing it he went to Elichpūr. There he got fever, and this increased when he went to the height of Narnāla. The abdominal pains also increased. His strength and sense dimin-

¹ "Durd" lees. There is a play on the words *durd*, and *dard* (pain). Cf. Elliot VI. 97.

² An allusion to the Khān-khānān.

³ Referring to the death of Rustum in November 1598.

ished. On 9th Dai he returned to Shāhpūr, and physicians set themselves to treat him, and he got a little better. When he heard of the arrival of the Shāhinshāh at Agra and of his being summoned to court, he became excessively melancholy, for out of shame for his drunkenness he could not make up his mind to kiss the threshold. His officers suggested another course, and when news came of the approach of the writer of the book of fortune, he marched on 9th Isfandārmaz towards Aḥmadnagar. His sole idea was to make this expedition a reason for not going (to Agra). The New Year's feast of this year he celebrated at Tamurnī.¹ On the 16th Ardībihisht he was seized with violent fits near Dihārī (or Dihbārī) on the banks of the Pūrnā, 20 *kos* from Daulatābād, and on the 22nd he died in an unconscious state.

Verse.

Alas for this painful misfortune destructive of repose.

Alas for the calamity of this worship of the bowl.

A form that was destined for long life he himself destroyed.

A jewel that might have threaded many years he himself broke.

High and low grieved, and sorrow seized friend and stranger. When news came of the illness, H.M. sent off Hakīm Miṣrī the Galen of the age, and he also appointed Āṣaf K. in order that there might be no delay on the journey. The envoys heard of the event on the road and returned. I praise the world's lord for that with all his anguish he guarded against being distracted, and because he ministered to his inward grief. By the might of the lordship of the spiritual world he achieved calm, and he administered medicine to the unintelligent. Kaiqubād, on losing his liver-lobe, played away his patience, and gave himself up to impatience. Luqmān the hakīm applied himself to medical treatment and compounded a medicine out of fortitude. He wrote a letter of advice, and represented: "The departure of a child from this dark dustbin to the holy realms is not a grief to the sage, and the severing of the connection should

¹ The Tamurnī of J. II. 237, in Telingānah, or perhaps it is the Tamurnī on the same page, in Sarkār Maḥkar. B. 309 says he died at Jalnāpūr. See his preface, page xxii. Price has Khānpūr and the Tāzūk, Jalnā-

pūr. 22nd Ardībihisht corresponds to about 2nd May 1599. Faiṣī Sirhindī says Murād died on Wednesday, 16th Shawwāl 1007, i.e. on 2nd May 1599.

not be regarded as sorrowful. The sorrow which has laid hold of me is lest wisdom's child, i.e. patience, should die, and the fulness of the cup of the earthly body cause the extinction of the celestial spirit." This message brought him out of the sleep of neglect. He set about what was proper for the time and exerted himself in self-culture. He spent his time in thanksgiving. H.M. was wont to act the part of the Teacher ḥakīm. Though chained to so many burdens he lived **754** a free man and at the time of sorrow administered medicine for the grieved.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE ARMY OF THE DECCAN BY MEANS OF THE
WONDERS OF DAILY-INCREASING FORTUNE.

When the writer of the noble volume was sent off, some grandees set themselves to destroy the work, and in consequence of their tales many old comrades separated from me. I was compelled to look out for new soldiers and by good fortune an abundant force was gathered together. Though well-wishers spoke against the system of making loans,¹ I did not withhold my hand from making them. I kept my eyes open to the past disturbances. When I arrived within thirty *kos* of the prince's camp, swift couriers brought letters from M. Yūsuf K. and other officers. These stated that the prince was very ill, and that I should go on to him post haste. Perhaps, the confusion caused by wicked men could be remedied, and high and low be saved from distraction. Their hearts had been chilled by the intrigues of the grandees of the court. Though my companions told wonderful stories in order to keep me back, I hastened forward all the more. My sole thought was that I might spend my life's coin in the service of my benefactor, and express something of my gratitude for favours by the tongue of action. On the 19th I went on faster from Dewalgāon with a few men, and at evening, arrived. There I saw what may no other person see! Things were past remedy, and men were in a state of bewilderment. Troops of them were going off. The anxiety of the leaders was to bring back the prince to Shāhpūr. I represented that in such a confusion, when high and low had lost heart, and there was a great commotion, when the enemy was near at hand, the country was foreign, to return was to cause one's own loss. During this talk that nosegay (Murād) withered, and confusion rose high. Some from wicked thoughts, some in order to protect their homes, and some in order to look after their children,

¹ *Wām*. Cf. III. 249, l. 12. Apparently A. F.'s friends warned him

of the danger of making advances to soldiers.

chose to separate. By the help of God I did not take them into account but set myself to put the troops into order, and to do what was necessary for the time. I sent off the body to Shāhpūr in the charge of the house-servants, and it was deposited there. Some Tūrānīs left the camp and meditated sedition. In spite of advice their presumption increased. At this time the troops who were behind, and who were more than 3,000 horse, came up. My words had now fresh importance, and the crooked in their ways listened to counsel. Still small and great wanted to return. They described the death of Mun'im K. Khān khānān, the reversal of affairs in Bengal, the coming of Shihābu-d-dīn and Aḥmad K. from Gujarat, and the disturbance in that country and the like. As my special reliance **755** was on God, and my eyes were full of light from the fortune of the Shāhinshāh, their words had no effect. A world became displeased and many got angry and went off. I set myself to do what was proper, and the design of advancing occurred to me. On the 27th (Ardībihisht) we marched to conquer the Deccan. This advance gave new strength to hearts. Some counsels were sent to the guardians of the frontiers and the other watchmen of the country. The narrow-minded were succoured. Whatever treasure the prince had, all the goods which were not fit to be sent (to court), and whatever I had myself or could collect by borrowing, were distributed. In a short time those who had gone away returned, and business became active. The whole of the prince's territory was guarded, except Nāsik which was far off, and the news of whose danger was later in coming. The news of the prince's death and of the despair of the officers dispersed the guardians there. Though, on account of the perfunctory conduct of the persons sent, that territory was not secured, yet much land was added to the imperial dominions. Though the intriguers at court did not fully read my report (to Akbar) and with evil intentions concealed those events, yet as I continued in prayer to God, and the attention of H.M, towards me increased daily, the management of the troops was carried on in an excellent way, and beyond the expectations of contemporaries. There was astonishment among far and near. It is beyond the power of mortals to return thanks to God. What can a powerless person like me do?

Verse.

I did not behave moodily in his service,
For he said "he is worthy of praise."

While indulging in thoughts I continued pious, and returned hearty thanks. Sometimes this occurred to me: "The secret knowledge of the world's lord has again been impressed on high and low. Without my striving and without the recommendation of this one or that one, he took me from the dustheap of obscurity, and brought me out from the lane of knowledge-gathering, and advanced me to high rank." Sometimes I thought how without the favour of this or that man I had been promoted to high executive work, and how silence and repentance had taken possession of the tongues and hearts of the court-witlings. Sometimes it occurred to me that by the efforts of envious people the tongue of suspicion had been loosed against me who only had one object, and they had sent me far away from court, but the true Disposer (God) had made this a source of high promotion, and marked them with enduring shame. The circumstance that without man's help this difficult task had been easily performed by me did not (unduly) elate me, and I prayed to God that this liking for difficulties might not darken my understanding, and that the efforts of private enemies might not work me injury.

756 One of the occurrences was the death of Maṣūm Kābulī. From the time when he became mad from ingratitude, and stirred up the dust of commotion in Bengal, he fell into distress. As the heart-lacerating blows of fortune did not waken him from his slumbers he fell into sicknesses, and on the 30th (Ardībihisht, 10th May 1599) he died.¹ The prosperity of the eastern rebels decayed. On 3rd Khurdād (13th May) a great member² of the harem died. The news arrived from Lahore on the 12th, and the royal ladies were seized

¹ A son of his, by name Shujā', was thānadār of Ghaznī in Shah Jahan's time and had the title of Asad K. Bādshāhnāma I. 451. See Maasīru-l-Umarā III. 295.

² The name of the lady is not given, but it appears from what follows that she was the mother of Shāhzāda Khānim. *Farzandān* in text should

be farzand-i-ān, as in I.O. MS. 236. In Price's Jahangīr, p. 46, the mother of Shāhzāda Khānim is described as Bībī Selīma Begam, who of course is not the Selīma who had been Bairām's wife. In the Tūzuk, p. 14, the name of Shāhzāda's mother is not given, but she is described as one of the special concubines of Akbar.

with grief, and Shāhzāda Khānim, the daughter of the lady, was much upset. H.M. soothed her somewhat by sympathy and counsels. At this time Sitūnda¹ was taken. As after the death of Prince Sultān Murād, the writer of the noble volume took charge of the arranging of the army, the guarding of the country, and the capturing of places that had not been taken, he appointed Sundar Dās to take fort Taltūm.² He dexterously got some of the inhabitants to assist him. One of them called the governor of the fort to his quarters and then informed Sundar Dās. Active men set themselves to take the fort. The garrison made some resistance and then capitulated. On the 27th they delivered up the keys. On the 30th Miriām-Makānī came to Agra. As H.M. was going for some time to the South he sent a loving letter inviting her to come to see him. At the same time he sent for Sultān Kharram and many of the ladies. When they approached, the Prince-Royal went forward with some grandees to welcome them. On that day H.M. received them. Up to this day no one had told him of the unavoidable event of Prince Sultān Murād. The report of the writer had been represented in a different way. That great lady (Miriām Makānī) conveyed the news to him, and a world was plunged in sorrow. H.M., by dint of the strength of his lordship of the spiritual world restrained his feelings, and administered comfort to the mourning ladies. The assistance of that God-worshipper came into play, and the distressed acquired resignation.

Verse.

¹ "About 50 m. N.E. Aurangabad." Elliot VII. 25.

² Taltam in *Bādshāhnāma* I. 370.

CHAPTER CXL.

THE SENDING OF PRINCE SULTĀN DANIEL TO GOVERN THE DECCAN.

The cherishing of the weak and the chastisement of the rebellious are the great acts of devotion of just monarchs. The incomparable Creator wills that nothing should be greater for rulers than these two things. God be praised! H.M. holds high rank in the recognition of those two duties. Neither joy or sorrow withholds him from them. In spite of his grief for his dear son and his sympathy for the troops of mourners, he gave his attention to the South in order to assuage the distressed. His heart desired to send the Prince-Royal on this service, but he, at the time¹ for being sent there, was guided by evil-minded persons and did not come to court. As the guarding of the country could not be delayed, he, in that happy hour, appointed Prince Sultān Daniel. On the eve of 2nd Tir he was sent off after receiving weighty counsels. H.M. accompanied him to the first halting place. He spent the night there and occupied himself in fresh supplications and counsels. He favoured the prince by granting him a red tent (*sarāca*) which is only set up for the Shāhinshāh. A *firmān* was sent to the writer of the noble volume to the effect that H.M. desired to summon me to his presence, but that as he was sending the Prince there, I must endure the apparent separation, and must point out to the prince the management of administrative and financial affairs. From the beginning of my understanding I had had a daily-increasing longing for freedom, but by the strange working of the spheres my association with the world had increased. At this time when the brightness² of the jewel had

¹ From what follows it appears that this refers to the astrological hour which was auspicious for sending off the Prince.

² Text *roshnī-i-gohar*. But the expression does not seem intelligible

and neither the I.O. MSS. nor the Lucknow ed. have *roshnī*. I.O. MS. 236 has *guzashtī* and so has the Lucknow ed., and perhaps the meaning of this is that A. F. had become older. The whole passage is obscure.

been augmented, I wished deliverance from the burden of existence on account of the intrigues of wicked men, and the currency of liars. (At the same time) I acquired by God's help something of a great name, and my external workshop was raised to a higher rank. During this contention between the spiritual and the temporal, the sublime order came and furnished material for both resolutions. I was bewildered on account of absence from that fountain of intelligence, but I came to myself from thoughts of development (of the country). I resumed my work and waited in expectation of the advent of that jewel of sovereignty's mine.

At this time Saiyid Qāsim Bārha's days came to an end. Prince Sultān Murād had previously sent him on this expedition, and sent with him many brave and experienced men. When the prince fell into disorder, he returned rapidly. He entered into engagements with the writer of the noble volume and returned after gaining his desires. He took possession of some cultivated tracts and on the 6th he died of dyspepsia at the town of Kunhar near Daulatābād. On the 8th the writer sent M. Khān with a number of men to Nāsik, and he wrote to M. Yār, who had been sent there, to join quickly with his force. Though on account of his illness he had not a proper equipment, yet no special harm accrued to him from the enemy. On the 15th the mother of Prince Sultān Parvez died, and the ladies were grieved. H.M. comforted them. On the 17th Rajah Mān Singh paid his respects and produced a choice set of presents. Among them were fifty valuable diamonds. Bengal had become more quiet and he had an order permitting him to come to court **758** whenever his mind was at ease about the country. As there was some peace in that land he had the bliss (of attending the court), and received favours. On the 28th Qulīj K. came from Jaunpūr, and had an audience. Prince Daniel had been left to take charge of that province. As he was at ease about it he came to court. On 2nd Amardād, Barkhurdār¹ the son of 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, the son of Muyīd Beg, was sent to prison. Dalpat Ujjainiya had been released and had taken leave to go to his home, after having obtained his desires. Barkhurdār and some riotous ones fell upon him because his father had been killed in battle with that landholder. The latter cleverly escaped. H.M. censured Barkhurdār and sent him to prison.

H.M. wished to bind him and send him to the landholder, but at the intercession of some persons he was released.¹ On the 4th S. 'Abdu-rahḡmān was sent to Daulatābād. As God sent the writer of the noble volume to quiet the Deccan, there was activity everywhere so that by (Divine) help, liberality and bravery the contumacious were set to right. At this time the garrison of Daulatābād represented that if safe conducts were granted them, and a place assigned to them for a residence, they would surrender the keys and accept service. But there were some Abyssinians and Deccanīs in that neighbourhood, and an army should be sent to punish them. On this account I sent off my son—whose forehead showed signs of propriety—and gave him 1,500 of my own horse and an equal number of other soldiers. At this time Āṣaf K. was exalted by being made Diwān-i-kul. H.M. always looked closely into the administration, and never neglected what was necessary. As Rai Patr Dās opened the hand of bribe-taking, and vexed people, he was on the 11th sent to Bāndhū and Āṣaf K. was raised to this high office. Qulīj K. was made Mīr Māl, but gradually he withdrew his hand from this. On the 26th M. Shāhrukh joined the southern army. As a great disturbance had arisen upon the death of Prince Sulṭān Murād, the writer called him to himself. The Mīrzā arranged to come quickly, but foolish talkers prevented him, and the general commotions,² which are got up at such times, also interfered. As it was the Divine will that this inexperienced and unassisted one (the author) should become known for ability and that the envious should be put to shame, although I expected that the Mīrzā from his singleness of heart would come at this crisis even if there was not an order for his doing so, yet from the untrue speeches of this man and that man he did not come. And though an order, which had an admixture of rebuke,

¹ Faizī Sirhindī says the affair happened on 2nd Muharram 1008, 15th July 1599. Barkhūrdār had gone out from Agra to hunt, and came to hear that Dalpat was having his food on the river-bank. Barkhūrdār and Husain Beg s. Shiroya and a number of servants drew their swords, and went off to attack Dal-

pat. The latter and his men had stripped and were eating. They swam across the river. Mān Singh, then on his way to court, reported the circumstance and H.M. put Barkhūrdār and Husain in prison.

² ارجوفهای عامه *arjufhā-i-'aāmma*. I presume this word is a derivative from *rajf*.

followed, he made excuses and did not arrive. At last Husain was sent as *sazāwal* and made him come, willing or unwilling. He arrived **759** this year with the victorious troops, and I received him and brought him to my quarters. I exulted at the arrival of so brave and pure-minded a man.

On 3rd *Shahriyūr*¹ Malik *Khair Ullah* was killed. He was the night-watch (*‘asas*) of Lahore, and he performed this duty satisfactorily. One day he sent for a noted thief, who was in prison, and was examining him in his private room. That wicked fellow brought in by pretexts some of his companions, and sent out Malik *Khair Ullah*'s servants, and while the latter was alone, killed him as well as his son.

One of the occurrences was the subsiding of the disturbance in *Bīr*.² An extensive country is attached to this city, and it contains 1,001 villages, every one of which is like a city. A month before the death of the Prince, *Sher*³ *Khawāja* had taken it with the help of some brave men. When the Prince died, most of the pillars of the State tried to give it up. As to give up a conquered territory without cause was to encourage the enemy, the proposal was not accepted (by A. F.). When things were going on well, envy made many persons mad, and they urged the enemy—who were more than 15,000 in number—to drive off *Sher Khawāja* during the rains when the river would be full. At the beginning of the rains the enemy assembled. Their *idea* was that as the imperial troops were not more than 3,000, they would be victorious when the river was in flood and help could not come. On receipt of this information, letters were written to the officers—who could easily join—and great

¹ Faizi S. says the news came on 13th Muharram, 26th July 1599. The thieves said they would give information in private, and when they were taken in, they killed Malik *Khair Ullah* and his son by striking them with the wooden clogs on their arms. At p. 746 *Khair Ullah* is called the *Kotwāl* of Lahore.

² I.G. VIII. 117. Probably it is the *Bīragarh* of J. II. 229 and 230 which is described as on the eastern

part of *Berār*. It is to the east of *Ahmadnagar*. It is described in the *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of Nizām's Dominions* by Syed Hossain Bilgrāmī and C. Willmott (Bombay, 1884, p. 207), where it is called *Birh*. It lies on the left bank of the *Bend-sūra* river.

³ The text has the words *tarh shuda*, which apparently means that *Sher Khawāja* was with the army, in the reserve.

efforts were made to cause them to help. Some from ignorance, and some from wickedness made delays so that the rains increased, and the river raged. 15,000 Abyssinians and Deccanīs with 60 elephants approached Bīr. Sher Khwāja who was unique for courage and skill, drew up his forces, and from ignorance and fieryness of disposition hastened¹ forward, passing over streams and broken ground. Though experienced men represented the superiority of the enemy, the advantages of caution, and the existence of heights and hollows, they were not listened to. Owing to this inconsiderate marching, the troops became somewhat disorganised, while the enemy were in good order. The van, which was composed of Rājputs, fought well, and performed prodigies of valour. The centre and the right and left wings did not act well. Meanwhile a force, which was in a hollow,² made a strong attack. Jagrūp,³ son of Jagannāth, Gopāl Dās Rāthor, Sultān Bhātī, Muḥammad Amīn Cūlī, and many others, gave their lives in a worthy manner, and the troops were dispersed. The

760 enemy followed them and came towards the city. Sher Khwāja came forward and drove off the foe in front of him. Wafādār K. and a number of able men of the right wing joined. Y‘aqūb Beg, Kūcak ‘Alī Beg, and some others caused the jewel of courage to shine. When Sher Khwāja returned he found the field full of the fallen. Learning the success of the foe he became very sorrowful, and was compelled to proceed rapidly to the city. Here a hot engagement took place, and Sher Khwāja entered the city, wounded. Just then Bahādur-al-mulk arrived with some brave men and got into the city after performing prodigies of valour. The defeated got fresh courage. He had come instantly from a distance of ten or twelve *kos*, though the Khwāja was somewhat displeased with him. Though he heard that the Khwāja was killed, he did not turn back, but came on all the faster. S‘aīd ‘Arab and some companions showed great courage. By good fortune the enemy were tired out and did not advance that day or the following day, but looked after their own

¹ The text has the words *tarḥ shuda*, which apparently means that Sher Khwāja was with the army, in the reserve.

² *Ghanjī*, said by Vullers to be a mistake for *ghafacī*, a hollow, a place where water collects.

³ Cagrūp in text. This son is not mentioned by the M‘aasir in its biography of Jagannāth, who was a brother of Rajah Bhagwān Dās.

wounded, and dispersed. Had they pressed on with the same vigour as at first, things would have been very critical. The garrison made a fence (*kocaband*) round the city, and on every side there was fighting.

When the news came a council was held, and high and low were asked for their remedies. There was a great confusion owing to evil thoughts and bad opinions. I turned aside from the others and addressed myself to the True Disposer (God). On 4th *Shahriyūr* I set out rapidly in heavy rain.¹ I made over the camp, the artillery and the elephants to M. *Shāhrukh* and *Khawāja Abū-l-ḥasan*, to be brought after me to *Jālnāpūr*. I sent for S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān from *Daulatābād*. My idea was to hasten on to the bank of the Ganges (Godavery) and to collect the troops. If any one of the good servants should have the courage to cross and fight I would send him, and remain myself on the bank, so that the work in front might go on, and that those behind might become composed. Otherwise I would personally go to the relief. As it was not believed that the expedition would take place, few even of the special men came forward. I was obliged to form a camp after marching five *kos*, but went on rapidly myself with a few men to *Āhūbara*. My idea was that M. *Yūsuf K.* would show energy in this work. After travelling twenty *kos* I joined him in the first part of the night, and stayed five days in his quarters. Though on the first day I came to despair of him, yet M. 'Alī Beg, and the army of *Daulatābād*, and other brave men, joined. I engaged in borrowing money for equipping the soldiers, and sent a number to the bank of the river, and got possession of the ford. M. 'Alī Beg took upon himself the guarding and the fighting of the force, and I sent on with encouraging words every one who came up afterwards. When my mind was somewhat at ease about the army I followed up quickly myself. My idea was that as all were not of one mind, possibly an engagement would not have a good result, and so it was better that I should myself come to the battlefield. When the officers arrived, one after the other, on the bank of the river, they were unable to cross on account of the flood. When S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān came to the bank, the Divine aid smote the waves and the river became at once fordable. When the army heard of this, they returned thanks to God, and they crossed over on horse-

¹ Text *garmī-i-bārish*. But I.O. MSS. have *yāzish*.

back. Old natives of the country were astonished, and thought that it was magic. On the 20th I arrived at the bank of the river, and on hearing the news of the victory I halted. On the 18th when the troops crossed, the enemy—who were near the bank—had fought slightly with the skirmishers and had then fled. They lost heart on hearing that the tempestuous river had been crossed and that the writer had arrived. On the 19th they broke up the siege and went off in a confused state to Aḥmadnagar. Thanksgivings were offered upon the receipt of this news, and there were joyful meetings. The garrison had been in straits for nineteen days. Though on the first day they did not display much courage, yet during the siege they showed great valour, though their condition was wretched, and they despaired of help. Every day there were hot contests. The men had to eat horse flesh, and the horses ate the reed-thatching of the houses. The heroes were nearly slaying their families and coming out by sacrificing their own lives. In spite of the confusion of one's comrades, smallness of means, and the difficulty of the work, the Incomparable Creator produced so delightful a picture, and a world fell into rejoicing. My idea was that on this day when the Nizāmul-mulkī troops were disordered, and many brave men were collected, an expedition should march to take Aḥmadnagar. But the resolution of my companions did not rise to this. Strange to say, they even wanted to abandon Bīr. Some out of evil intentions separated themselves, and a new commotion arose. It was remedied by endurance and forbearance. As the Bīr soldiers had undergone hardships, and were depressed on account of men's foolish talk, I wished to make over the guarding of it to S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān. Sher Khwāja from the goodness of his disposition represented: "As I commenced the work, it is far better that I should finish it, but please place some men in Shāhgarha to help me. Though Bīr has a stone fort, an earthen wall shall also be put round the city." On this account Bīr was left in his charge. The chosen servants there received promotion as well as robes of honour and horses, and suitable presents. I myself made my quarters on the bank of the river in order to encourage them. By the Divine favour a great disturbance subsided, and the rebels everywhere had recourse to entreaties. There was new fervour in giving of thanks, and there was also acknowledgment of the Shāhīnshāh's fortune. There was a wonderful old *nīm* tree in the

fort of Shāhgarha. Its trunk had two branches, one sweet, and the other bitter. The first was good for preserving health and in leprosy, etc. I reported this to H.M., and in accordance with orders I sent portions of both to court.

At this time the arrival of treasure quickly brightened the face of dominion. As many had not fiefs, and the *jāgīrs* of some others were not in good order, the hall of wishes was opened (i.e. petitions were made). When H.M. heard of this he gave orders that the Gujarat treasure should be gradually conveyed and that more than three *lakhs* of rupīs should be sent from court by way of *hundī*. In this country the rule is that when one desires to have money conveyed without the expense and trouble of transit to distant places, he makes it over to a man of means and he thereupon gives a writing. This is conveyed to the desired place, and the person there pays the money on seeing the document. The singular thing is that seals and witnesses are not required. The writing is called by this name (*hundī*), and in consequence of difference in place and circumstance sometimes it is met at par and sometimes there is profit (?). H.M. distributed the money to the officers and ordered that each should dispatch it according to this custom. In a short time this was done and the soldiers got new support.

On the 21st the daughter of Qulij K. died. This great lady was in the harem of Prince Sultān Daniel. She died near Gwaliyār. H.M. brought the mourners to patience by his exhortations. On this day the fort of Taltūm was taken. It is one of the choice forts of Berar. The writer sent Sundar Dās to take it, and he planted there the foot of courage. There were great fights. One night the garrison was overtaken by the slumber of neglect. The assailants mounted by ladders, Qatlū K. the governor fled and the other rebels submitted.

CHAPTER CXLI.

UPREARING OF THE AUGUST STANDARDS IN THE DIRECTION OF MĀLWA.

When Prince Sultān Daniel was sent off to conquer the South, and delayed somewhat on the road, H.M. conceived the idea of hunting in Mālwa so that he might urge on his son to greater activity in the carrying out of orders. On 6th Mihr, 16th September, 1599, he made over the charge of Agra to Qulīj K., and after 4 hours, 24 **763** minutes, mounted his rapid steed and went off on his expedition to the Deccan. Sultān Khusrū, Sultān Parvīz, Sultān Kharrah and many ladies accompanied him. On this day the Prince-Royal obtained leave to go to Ajmere. The gracious sovereign was continually increasing his kindness to him, but he from drunkenness and bad companionship did not distinguish between his own good and evil. On this account he was for some time not granted an audience.¹ At the instance of Miriam-Makānī he was allowed to make the *kornish*. He made fresh promises of discretion and of service. H.M. sent him to chastise Umrā the Rānā, and gave him many instructive counsels. Rajah Mān Singh, Shāh Quli Maḥram and many other officers accompanied him. At the request of the Rajah, his son Jagat Singh was sent off to take charge of Bengal.

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Īsā. He was a great landholder in Bengal. He had some share of prudence, but from somnolence of fortune he did not come to court. At the time when H.M. was marching to the South, Rajah Mān Singh thought in his ignorance that the guardianship of Bengal was an easy matter, and so took it upon himself while living in Ajmere. By wondrous fate that turbulent landholder died, and the thornbush of commotion was extirpated. On the 19th the Khān-khānān was sent to Prince Sultān Daniel. When the gracious sovereign learnt that the writer of the noble volume was very sad on account of his distance from the

¹ Possibly this refers to the Anarkali affair.

sublime court, he distinguished that great officer—who on account of the occurrences in the Deccan had somewhat fallen out of favour—and the latter made fresh promises of good service. He was allowed to leave at the second stage, and an order was given that when the prince arrived (in the Deccan), the writer should take the opportunity of coming to prostrate himself at the holy threshold. He was delighted at this news, and submitted his humble thanks. On the 22nd H.M. alighted, on the way, at the quarters of the Khān-khānān, and enjoyed himself there till the close of the day. Among the presents offered by the Khān-khānān was a horse which fought with an elephant, and excited astonishment. On the 26th Jagat Singh died. When he was sent off to Bengal he near Agra engaged in preparations for the journey. Suddenly he died, and the Kachwāha tribe was plunged into sorrow. Princely sympathy administered balm to the mourners. His son Mahā¹ Singh, who was of tender age, was favoured and sent off in his room. The garden of a world's hope was irrigated. At this time the capture of the fort of Narnāla brought joy. In old times the ruler of Berar made Taltūm the seat of government. The ruler of Aḥmadnagar conquered it. In the first place the son of Qatlū K.—who held both forts—fell into the hands of Sundar Dās and thereafter conceived a desire to enter service. On this day he through the intervention of 'I'tibār K. chose service and delivered up the keys. Dalpat Rāo, Daulat K. 764 and others of the garrison obtained their desires. On 4th Ābān the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. The court of liberality and of gifts was thrown open. On the 5th the august retinue arrived near Dholpūr, and rested for a while in Ṣādiq K.'s garden. Zāhid his son acquired bliss by distributing money, and by offering presents.

At this time the writer sent to court the ladies of Prince Sultān Murād. When he died, some of them, who were with him, were sent to Shāhpūr. They were now all collected and sent with honour under the charge of suitable persons. The treasurer (*taḥwīldār*), the accountant, and the dārogha were sent with them, and a list was made of the properties. On account of the insecurity of the roads,

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma says that though Mān Singh had other grown-up sons, yet according to Hindu custom the

son of the deceased got his appointment.

and a shortness of money, there was some delay in the dispatch. Now that their minds were at ease, they were sent off on the 15th. The corpse was also sent. As wicked men intended war, and there was a great report of a forthcoming battle I retained one half of the 400 elephants. Rai Dūrgā, M. Farīdūn and other officers and *aḥadīs* were appointed to escort the ladies. I was relieved of a heavy responsibility. They joined the court in Mālwa. By H.M.'s orders the body of the forgiven one was conveyed to Delhi. On the 20th, H.M. halted at Gwaliyar, and he ascended the fort, and passed the night there. Rāj Singh ¹ the governor paid his respects, and received honour. Next day he descended and visited the dwelling of S. 'Abdullah K. On the 26th Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai was sent to the Prince-Royal. As it was reported that he was loitering on the way, Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai was sent to him with counsels. As Rajah Mān Singh was discomposed by grief for his son, a horse and a robe of honour were sent to him, and consolatory messages addressed to him. On 1st Āzar, 11th November, 1599, Shāhbāz K. died. He was addicted to the use of quicksilver. When he was over seventy, he got pains in his arms and loins. He got a little better, but in the city of Ajmere the illness returned, and the fever increased. The remedies of the physicians restored him to health, but in this year and month he suddenly died. He had few equals in every kind of service, and in the management of troops. If he had given up bigotry and had controlled his tongue, he would have possessed the embroidery of wisdom.²

At this time the writer proceeded towards Aḥmadnagar. Cānd Bībī had raised Bahādur, the grandson of Burhān, to the throne and

¹ Cf. Faizī Sirhindī's account. He says that the governor spread carpets from the gate of the fort to the rooms which Humāyūn had occupied in the beginning of his reign. He also says that H.M. visited the tomb of Muḥammad Ghaṣṣ.

² There is a Shahbāz K. mentioned by Jahāngīr, Price 35, but though there is a resemblance in the characters of the two men, this Shahbāz K.

can hardly be the man who died while Jahāngīr was still only Prince Royal. Faizī S. says Shāhbāz died on a Friday in Jamāda-ṣānī. The Maaṣir says Jahāngīr took possession of all Shahbāz's property and went off to Allahābād. If the Shahbāz mentioned in Price's Memoirs be really the Shāhbāz of the Akbarnāma, the mistaken account of him in the former work is strong evidence of its spuriousness.

was living there. She thought it was a strong place, and a protection for herself. Some soldiers were favourably disposed to her. Outside, Abhang K. the Abyssinian (zangī) was, along with many others, making a disturbance. Though the boy was considered as the ruler yet secretly that chaste lady was ruler. She continually 765 sent conciliatory messages to the army, and also at the same time affected friendship with the Deccanīs. She¹ practised the same methods towards the author of the precious volume. He replied, "If from foresight and a happy star you bind yourself to the sublime court, what can be better! You must observe whatever agreement you make. Otherwise it is improper to utter words to which acts do not correspond. The path of sending and receiving messages is not clear." When the wickedness of those inside became patent to her, and she came to understand in some measure the good intentions of this person (A. F.), she sent well-wishers and confirmed the relationship of friendship, and in the treaty written with her own hand she inserted true oaths. She represented that "when Abhang K. was punished she would surrender the keys of the fort, but asked that Bīr might be made her fief. She also asked that she might be allowed to go there and take some repose, and said that thereafter she would go to court whenever it was wished, and would send Bahādur to wait upon H.M. From the upsetting of plans and the vexations of companions there would be some delay."

When the stay in Shāhgarha had been somewhat prolonged, and some had gone away, and the report of the coming of the Prince died down, evil thoughts came into the head of Abhang K. He brought Sham-sher-ul-mulk, the son of Miyān K.—who was formerly the governor of Berar—out of prison and gave him position. He also gave him an army in order that he might go from Daulatābād to that country (Berār). As the families of the soldiers were there, the imperial army got perturbed, lest at this time he might prevail. As I knew for a long time of this evil intention, I sent M. Yūsuf K. with a large force to remedy matters. The Mīrza treated the affair lightly

¹ In the first letter of the 2nd book of the Inshā A. F. reports the arrival of Cānd Bībī's messengers and of her expressing her regret at Prince

Murād's death, and of her describing her circumstances. The messengers arrived on 14th Khurdād 1007=24th May, 1599.

and fell into the slumber of negligence. He (Shamsher) came to Berar, and a great commotion arose. Many of the defenders of the country took to flight, and a number went off, without asking ¹ leave, to comfort their families. By the help of able men I formed the idea of proceeding to Aḥmadnagar, of punishing the wicked who were inside, and of testing the words of Cānd Bībī. I set off on the 12th, and summoned to myself the brave men from every quarter. When I had advanced several stages, the enemy turned back from every place, and collected at Aḥmadnagar. At this time came the joyful news that Shamsher K. had fallen. The commotion awaked M. Yūsuf K. and he followed him (Shamsher) quickly. He also sent on in advance M. Khān, M. Lashkarī, 'Aādil K., Sundar Dās and others. Shamsher made an attempt on Elichpūr. The men sent in advance arrived, and he, on receiving this intelligence, became be-
766 wildered and went off rapidly. They at the guidance of some landholders loosed their rein (i.e. pursued him). On the night of 7th Āzar they fell upon his quarters from every side and poured in arrows. There was a slight battle, and suddenly he was killed by an arrow. The success of the wicked departed, and the drum of joy beat high. On the 27th the august standards reached Bhilsa, and M. Rustum arrived from his fief, and did homage.

At this time the writer abandoned his intention of proceeding to Aḥmadnagar. On 5th Dai he came to Mūngī ² Patan, and wished to cross the Ganges (Godavery). There he received the orders of Prince Sultān Daniel to this effect: "Your energy is impressed upon every one. Your desire is to take Aḥmadnagar before we arrive, but you must restrain yourself from such intention. After this, there will be no delay on the road."

On the 9th H.M. mounted his horse, and a world rejoiced. For some days he had pains in his stomach, and had proceeded in a litter. From God's kindness to mortals, he got well near Sajāwalpūr and returned thanks. At this time a fresh disturbance broke out among the soldiery. When the Prince arrived at Burhānpūr, Bahādur K. did not come down from his fort to meet him, and refrained

¹ Text *nā rasīda*. But the variant *nā parsīda* is supported by the I.O. MS. 236.

² A large town on the east bank of

the Godavery forming the residence of Salivahan who defeated Vikramāditya (Tiefenthaler I. 487).

from the auspiciousness of service. The Prince conceived the design of punishing him, and sent for M. Yūsuf K. who was about to go to Pattan. On seeing this, other men went to that quarter, and many left the writer. The enemy—who had been in trepidation—on seeing this inopportune delay and dispersion, made several night attacks, and failed. I continually exerted myself to put matters straight. Brave men set their hearts upon fighting, and fought well. Owing to the Divine protection, and one victory after another, the rebels dispersed, and Abhang K. took to supplications and flatteries. On 15th Bahman the lunar weighment took place at Ujjain, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a general proclamation of liberality, and crowds of men had their desires satisfied. On the 25th H.M.'s stomachic pains were somewhat troublesome, but after four days he recovered his health. High and low returned thanks, and there were joyful assemblages.

CHAPTER CXLII.

EXPEDITION OF H.M. FOR THE TAKING OF ĀSĪR.

On the 29th the great tent was erected at Ujjain. H.M.'s intention was to remain for some days in Mālwa and enjoy hunting, so **767** that the soldiers might set themselves energetically to the conquest of Aḥmadnagar. When the news came that Bahādūr K., the ruler of Khāndesh, had, in consequence of the strength of his fortress and the amount of his equipment, not paid his respects to the Prince, and that the latter thought of taking the fort and of punishing him, an order was issued that he should proceed with his expedition against Aḥmadnagar. "Perhaps Bahādūr's not paying his respects was not the result of rebelliousness. Perhaps his intention was first to pay his respects to ourselves (Akbar). Otherwise the august standards will come to Burhānpūr and get to the bottom of the affair." The Prince obeyed the order and went on. Bahādūr K. offered choice presents, and sent his son Kabīr K. with some men to accompany him (Prince Daniel). First, Khawājāh Mawadūd went from the court to give him advice. He sent four unsuitable elephants and made false statements about not paying his respects. Then Mīr Ṣadar Jahān was sent to give advices, and after him Peshrau K. Bahādūr in his want of wisdom fell into absurd thoughts. As his ancestor (his father) had ended his life in obedience and service, H.M. had favoured him from afar and had given him his kingdom. From ill-fatedness he did not march with the army of the South, and did not wait upon the princes. H.M. was always making¹ allowances for him. Now when the august standards had arrived near at hand, and Bahādūr did not accept advice, he unavoidably proceeded to punish him and to take his country from him. He marched by the route of Dīpālpūr and Dhār to Burhānpūr. On the 11th

¹ Apparently the literal meaning of the original is "was always fur-

nishing a support for his stumbling (feet)."

Isfandārmaz, Sālbāhan, the son of Mandī (?), S., Farīd ¹ Bakhshī Begī, Hāshim Beg, Qarā Beg, Qāzī Ḥasan, M. Yūsuf, Bāz Bahādur, Muqīm K., Bahādur K., Tolak ² K., M. Barkhūrdār, ‘Ulugh Beg Badakhshī, Raḥīm Haravī, Mīr Jalāl, Qazal Abdāl, ‘Alāu-d-dīn Ḥusain, Bikramājīt, Lakhmān Sen, Bhangān (?) K., and some Saiyids of Bārha and many other brave men, were sent off to besiege Āsīr. On the 21st Fath Ullah ³ Sharbatdār (butler) died. He was a good servant and right-minded. He was placed in a confidential position on account of his good service. He fell into habits of drinking, and was sent to the Deccan in the hope that the pain of separation might be medicinal to him. He had the auspiciousness to give up the habit, but suffered severe pains, so that physicians came to despair of him. The gracious sovereign called him to himself, and he got a little better. He went to visit Māndū, and suddenly died. On the 23rd H.M. arrived at the Narbada. Next morning he enjoyed swimming ⁴ therein. On the 26th he crossed the river and arrived at Bījāgarha. The New Year feast was celebrated in that delightful place.

¹ Faizī Sirhindī gives a list of names, but it does not agree altogether with A. F.'s. He mentions Gulbād, Bahādur Uzbek, Hāshim who, he says, was the son of Qāsim K. Mīr Bahar, Muqīm the son of Shujā'at.

² Faizī has Būlaq the son of Tolak.

³ Faizī S. also notices Fath Ullah's

death and says he was a pupil of his father's and that when he came to Māndū and saw the tombs there he expressed a wish to die there.

⁴ Text *ābbāri*, but I.O. MS. 235 has *ābbāzī* which seems right. It may mean swimming or any aquatic amusement.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

BEGINNING OF THE 45TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR
 ĀZAR OF THE 4TH CYCLE.

On the night of Monday, 4th Ramzān 1008, 10th March 1600, after 8 hours 40 minutes the world-lighting sun cast his rays upon Aries, and the 9th year of the 4th Cycle brought news of joy. The world put on the joy of youth from the air of Spring and the breeze of the morning. Thanks were rendered, and prayers offered up that there might be a new revolution of the heavens, and new delight to mortals.

* * *

The wise sovereign gave his mind to embellishment. He distinguished between Spring and Autumn and set himself to entertain the new arrivals. As an expedition was contemplated, he attended less than usual to outward decorations. On 5th Farwardīn he marched, but as many endeavoured to keep him back he halted at Kargāon Bījāgarha. On 10th Farwardīn, 20th March 1600, the writer paid his respects at this place, and obtained the desire of his heart by beholding the Shāhinshāh. When the Prince passed Burhānpur an order arrived that I should make over the soldiers to M. Shāhrukh and proceed to court. I was delighted. I went to the Mīrzā and held a council, and read the order. As on account of the proceeding of men to Burhānpūr some dispersal had arisen, the Mīrzā and the leaders of the army objected and represented that they could not manage this tumultuous place. I went sorrowfully back to my quarters and remained in expectation. When some time had passed, and things had quieted, and the Prince had come nearer M. Shāhrukh, Mīr Martazā, Khawāja Abu-l-ḥasan and others took upon themselves the charge of the camp. I made over the treasure, the artillery, etc., but by the royal orders I took with me the elephants. I set out on the 12th Isfandārmaz and on the 17th I met the prince near Āhūbara, and stayed there three days. Meanwhile another

order came, viz. that when I came to Burhānpūr, if Bahādūr should **769**
 on my counsels choose to come with me, I should give him the news
 of pardon and bring him with me, otherwise I was to leave the troops
 and the elephants there, and to come on more quickly in order that
 he might consult me about advancing and about going to Gujrat.
 When I came there (Burhānpūr) Bahādūr came and saw me, and
 accepted my advice and became disposed to accompany me. When
 he went back to his house he fell into crooked ways, and sent an im-
 proper reply. According to the royal order I left the troops and the
 elephants and hastened forward. In a fortunate hour I rubbed my
 forehead at the sublime courtyard, and was exalted by princely
 favours. He repeated this verse with his pearl-laden tongue.

Verse.

Serene be the night and pleasant the moonshine ¹
 That I may talk with thee on every subject.

As the august standards had nearly come up, and an army had
 gone off to take Āḥmadnagar, it seemed good to advance. On the
 21st Burhānpūr was made illustrious by the holy advent. From
 Agra to this city there are 226 *kos* and they were traversed in 69
 marches in the course of 195 days. On the 22nd the Khān Ā'ẓim,
 Āṣaf K., S. Farīd ² and the author were sent to besiege Āsīr and to
 establish batteries. In a short time the orders were carried out, and
 many soldiers were left to carry on the siege (?). The army, which
 had been sent under the charge of S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī to take Āsīr,

¹ Ramẓān, the day on which A. F. arrived, would be a moonlight night. The Iqbāl-nāma has a different reading. For *Mahtābī*, moonlight, it has *tahanāī*, solitude. The couplet is quoted in the story of the two pigeons in the introduction to the *Anwārī Suhailī*. The reading there is somewhat different.

² Apparently, this Farīd must be a different person from Farīd the Mīr Bakhshī, for the latter had been sent to Āsīr in the previous year, viz. 11th Isfandārmaz 1008, 22nd Febru-

ary 1600. See ante, p. 76. We see too from the sentence that follows, that Farīd Mīr Bakhshī's force had not attempted to take Āsīr, but had halted some six miles away, and that on this account Akbar had been displeased till A. F. explained matters. However the S. Farīd mentioned as now accompanying Akbar may be the Mīr Bakhshī as he may have returned from camp. Faizī S. has a long story about negotiations between Farīd and Bahādūr.

was small in numbers, while the enemy was numerous. It therefore acted with forethought and turned back when within three *kos* of the place. Some envious people gave another colour to this, and made H.M. rather vexed. When the writer had an audience, he represented the real facts, and H.M. was satisfied. On this day the charge of guarding Khāndesh was entrusted to the writer. On the 23rd¹ men were appointed in two places. From one side my honoured brother S. Abu-l-barkāt was sent with some experienced men, and from the other my son S. ‘Abdu-r-raḥmān was sent. By the energy of the servants of God the rebels were soon chastised, and many submitted and enjoyed themselves. The soldiers of Khāndesh chose service, and the husbandmen were soothed, and engaged in agriculture. On 7th Ardībihisht Moẓaffar Husain M. was sent to Lalang. As near there Fūlād K. Ḥabshī, Rūp Rāi, Malik Sher and some other Khāndesh leaders spoke of submitting, Rai Durgā, Rai Manohar, Khwājagi Fath Ullah, Mīr Zāhid, Mīr Gadai, Mīr ‘Abdu-l-ḥai and many others were sent there under the charge of the Mīrzā. If they (the Khāndesh leaders) received words of counsel, they were to be sent to court, and the Mīrzā was to address himself to the taking of the fort (Āsīr). Otherwise he was to punish them.

770 By the excellence of fortune Rūp Rai died, and got the retribution of his crooked ways. He was distinguished in Khāndesh for his bravery and for the number of his followers. Before the imperial army arrived there, Fūlād K. separated from him in order to proceed to the holy threshold. When the writer was in Pattan, he guided him towards obedience, and made compacts with him. At this time he sent him a letter of advice and summoned him. An order (of Akbar’s) was written to encourage him. On account of this document he came out from among the rebels. Masa’ud Beg was conveying one hundred of the Shāhinshāh’s elephants to Gujrat, and he

¹ I.O. MS. 236 has a different reading here, and so, it appears, had Chalmers. They have, instead of 23rd the date, the statement that A. F. established 22 posts. The Lucknow ed. has also this. The Maasir also, II. 613, speaks of A. F.’s establishing 22 thanas. It says A. F.

sent his men with his son and his brother and established 22 posts. The Iqbāl-nāma says, apparently, that Akbar distributed the lands of Khāndesh among his troops, and gave the produce to A. F. so long as H.M. remained in the country.

(Fūlād) joined him. Rūp Rai hastened to attack Fūlād K. When his words to him about going back had no effect, a fight took place. Rūp Rai was wounded and had to fly. His elephants and other property were seized, and he shortly afterwards died. The good service of Fūlād K. was manifested.

At this time there was some disturbance in Bengal. Rajah Mān Singh ignorantly continued to have charge of Bengal, while staying in the province of Ajmere. He thought the sedition-mongers there to be loyal and left them in that distant country to their own devices. 'Uṣmān, Sajāwal and other turbulent Afghans, who pretended to serve, raised the head of sedition. Mahā Singh and Partāb¹ Singh thought this could be easily remedied, and came out to fight. On the 18th (Ardibihist=May 1600) there was a hot engagement in Bhadrak, and the imperial troops were defeated. Though Bengal was not lost, yet some portion of it was seized.

At this time Moẓaffar² Ḥusain M. took to crooked ways. H.M. did not take his former slips into account, and exalted him by several favours. He from an evil nature took to drinking, and the brightness of his intellect did not remain. One day he quarrelled with Khwājahgī Fath Ullah, and used violent language. In this year when the officers were four *kos* off from Lalang they started off to see that fort. Moẓaffar thought he had got his opportunity and went away into vagabondage. Owing to the discord among the soldiers, no one pursued him. Dalpat, the son of Rai Singh, went off on pretence of seeking him, but really went to his own home and proceeded to stir up strife. After three days Khwājah Wais³ went out to search for him. As that wicked fellow (Moẓaffar) had gone off rapidly towards Gujarat, his companions fortunately deserted him gradually. His aims were upset, and he failed. He was compelled to disguise⁴ himself as a devotee (as a qalandar) between Surat and Baglāna. While he was in this bewilderment the Khwāja came up and

¹ Mān Singh's brother and in charge of Mahā Singh. B. 516. The Iqbāl-nāma remarks on this occasion that the earth of Bengal was leavened with the water of sedition. Apparently Mahā Singh was then a lad of 15 or 16, for according to the Tūzuk

J. 186 he died in 1617 (1026) at the age of 32, and in the 12th year of Jahangīr; translation, p. 377.

² This is Gulrukh Begam's son and Akbar's son-in-law.

³ Or Waisī.

⁴ See Iqbāl-nāma and B. 463.

seized him on 5th Khurdād. On this day Rajah Partāb, the Zamīndār of Baglāna, came to do homage and was honoured, and rewarded by princely favours. He was raised to the rank of 3,000 and after receiving a flag and a drum was allowed to go to his home. At this time Bahādur K. came forward with excuses and asked for quarter. When he emerged somewhat from somnolence of understanding he by the instrumentality of some double-faced persons at court sent off his grandmother¹ and his young son together with sixty elephants. He represented that "he had become terribly frightened on account of his backsliding and so was kept back from kissing the threshold. He wished that he might be left for some time to do foreign (i.e. not at court) service, until his fears should pass away and then he would come to court with the evidence of good service. He was making over his daughter (in marriage)² to Sultān Khusrū, and was sending abundance of presents." His sole idea was that as provisions were dear H.M. would forgive him on receipt of this entreaty, and would march on. The reply was that nothing would be accepted from him unless he paid his respects. He should rely on a true promise and get rid of his fears, and come and serve.³ At this time Ibrāhīm received the retribution of his deeds. When the management of Khāndesh was entrusted to the author he had sent Sundar Dās and many others to take the fort of Sambal⁴ Dol, and Jāmū. That wicked fellow (Ibrāhīm) fought, but by God's help he was defeated and made prisoner. Many brave men were wounded, and Sundar Dās bravely yielded up his life. On the 10th that turbulent one met with the punishment of his deeds. On the 12th Fūlād K. had an audience, and was exalted by princely favours. He obtained the rank of 1,000 and a cultivated fief was given to him.

¹ Faizī S. calls her the mother and perhaps the text only means "venerable mother." This Bahādur was the ruler of Khandes and owner of Āsīrgarh.

² The phrase is ba mashkūī-Sultān Khusrū, Mashkū being the name of the palace that Khusrū of Persia made for Shīrīn.

³ The grandmother and the son were sent back (Iqbāl-nāma).

⁴ The Pīpalḍol and Jāmod of J. II. 224. The dots below the first letter may represent either an S or a P. Jāmod is the proper name. We are not told any particular as to who this Ibrāhīm was. Apparently he was put to death.

One of the occurrences was the death of Bīca Jīo.¹ Though she was the mother of the Khān Ā'zim M. Koka, yet she also held a maternal relation to H.M. On the 16th she died after much suffering, and the world's lord was sad. In his grief he shaved his head and mustaches, and though he tried that none should shave except her children, his faithful servants followed suit. H.M. carried the bier for some distance on his shoulders. While old, she had a youthful mind. She was very well-disposed, and gracious of heart. On the 17th Mozaffar Husain was brought to court. His shortsightedness was pardoned, and he was sent to the prison of instruction. When it became known that the officers had not actively pursued and searched for him, they were censured, and Rai Durgā and Rai Manohar were appointed for this duty. Khawāja Wais had arrested him and brought him to Sultānpūr, and they too came there. Near Coprah² Khawāja Nāzir, 'Ambar Ḥabshī and other Khāndesh rebels rose up to fight. By God's help they were discomfited and disgraced. On the 25th (Khurdād, 5th June 1600) the writer of the noble volume was raised to the rank of 4,000, and many sate down in the blackness of envy. On this day Sardār³ K. came and did homage, and was raised to the rank of 1,000. He was the grandson of Rajah 'Alī K. and the sister's son of the writer. H.M. summoned him from Agra in order that he might favour him. The soldiers of the landholder of Khāndesh joined⁴ him. On the 32nd the troops took the summit of the hill of Sāpan.⁵ It is very high and difficult of access. The garrison of Āsīr used to come out to it and do damage. Qarā Beg, M. Yūsuf, M. Tolak, Raḥmat K., S. 'Allāu-d-dīn, Khawāja Abū Nāsir, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, Shihāb Qandahārī, Nizāmu-d-dīn Ḥaidar, and others stood firm in battle, and gradually drove off the enemy until they entered the fort (Āsīr). A grand victory was won. Qarā

¹ This is Jījī Anaga, the wife of Shamsu-d-dīn, and not Pīca Anaga who was the wife of Khawāja Maqṣūd. The Iqbāl-nāma calls her Jījī Anaga. It says Akbar shaved his hair, his eyebrows, etc., according to the rules of Cingīz Khān.

² J. II. 224-25. The Chopda of I.G. X. 327. t had a temple of

Rameshwar at the confluence of the Gīrnī and Taptī.

³ B. XXXIV.

⁴ Presumably on account of his relationship with the Khāndesh royal family.

⁵ Sāpan is referred to, later on, at p. 777. It was a hill to the S.-W. of Āsīr, and one of its outworks.

Beg and some others took charge of it. Things became somewhat difficult for the garrison (of Āsīr). In the beginning of Tīr Shāham K. Jalāir had an audience. He had been summoned to this expedition. He arrived after providing equipment, and was exalted by princely favours. On the 3rd Nāsik was taken. When S'aādat K. submitted, the base Rājū,¹ his servant, enticed his followers by intrigues, and seized elephants and other things, and prevailed over that country. On receiving this news the Prince sent 5,000 men under the command of Daulat K. to punish him. Rajah Sūraj Singh, S'aādat Bārha, Rustum 'Arab, Shamsher 'Arab, Shahbāz K., Burhān-al-mulk and many others went with him. Able men showed a good fight, and by God's favour a victory was obtained. In this year Khawāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfi died. He had been left in Lahore to manage the crown-lands of the Panjab. He did the work in whole and in detail, and in that city he died. He was one of the singular of the age for success, truthfulness and courage. His knowledge had the glory of corresponding action. Contrarieties did not disturb him. H.M. grieved at the departure of this able man, and implored pardon for him from God, and showed suitable favour to his survivors. He appointed his younger brother Mūmin, who was distinguished for propriety, to the same office. On the 27th those who had capitulated were sent to prison. When the victorious troops invested Aḥmadnagar, S'aādat K., Farhād K., Shuj'aāt K., Sharza K., 'Abdu-ṣattār and many Abyssinians and Deccanis made agreements and did homage. The dust of dissension subsided. The enemies who had passed themselves off as friends became mad, and set themselves to destroy the work. By dexterous means they excited the Prince, **773** and at their instigation he arrested many people. Farhād K. and others, who under the guidance of M. Khān were serving peaceably,

¹ Evidently the Rājū who afterwards gave so much trouble. He is called Rājū Deccauī and Rājū Man-nū. Ferishta says in his account of the Nizāmshāhī dynasty that two men of no family—'Ambar the Abyssinian, and Rājū—preserved the dynasty from the Moghuls. A. F. never calls the scion whom they raised up anything but the son of

Shāh 'Alī. Ferishta calls him Mur-taza Nizām Shāh. Rājū and 'Ambar were on bad terms with one another, and the K. K. made use of this, and sent an army under his son to attack 'Ambar. A great battle occurred at Kharkī in 1010 A.H. and Irij was victorious (B. 491). Afterwards, the K. K. was on good terms with 'Ambar.

took to flight. A cry that promises were being broken was raised and every one who wanted to come in turned back.

One of the occurrences was the improper conduct of the Prince Royal. When that nursling of dominion was sent to punish the Rānā, he from self-indulgence, wine drinking and bad company spent much time in Ajmere. Afterwards he hastened off to Udaipūr. The Rānā came out on another side, and increased his disturbance. He plundered Mālpūr and other cultivated places. He (the Prince) sent Mādhū Singh and a body of troops in that direction, and the Rānā returned to the hills. In his retreat he made a night-attack on some soldiers. Reza Qulī, Lāla Beg, Mubāriz Beg, Aliph K. stood firm and he retired without success. Before the Prince had accomplished his task in a proper manner, he at the instigation of evil persons showed a disposition to behave in a self-willed manner. He wished to go to the Panjāb, and he indulged his disposition somewhat. Suddenly, there was a loud report of the disturbances of the Afghans in Bengal, and Rajah Mān Singh pointed out to him that he should go there. On 1st Amardād he crossed the Jumna, four *kos* from Agra. Miriam-Makānī was astonished at his disobedience and at his not coming to pay his respects (to her?). In her loving kindness she followed him for some distance, thinking that she might by her counsels guide him to the path of auspiciousness. On becoming aware of this, he left the hunting ground for his boat and went rapidly down the river. That great lady returned with a sorrowful heart. He went on to Allahabad and confiscated men's fiefs, and laid hold of the Bihar treasure, which was more than thirty *lakhs* of rupis. He also assumed the name of king. H.M. from his abundant loving-kindness and the views of tricksters did not believe everything. The grandees too indulged in the same language. When a *firmān* was sent inquiring about his misconduct, he dexterously spoke about his submissiveness and called himself innocent and expressed a desire to kiss the threshold.¹

¹ Salīm had been for a good while on bad terms with his father, and it appears that he never had a separate command, or was entrusted with much power until he was sent to Ajmere. The inscription on Anarkalī's tomb (Murray's handbook for the

Panjab, 186) bears the date 1008 (1599-1600) in letters and figures. But this cannot be the date of her death, for Akbar was not at Lahore in that year. He left it for Agra on 26th Ābān 1007=6th November 1598. Either the story about her being

On the 4th M. Rustum was sent to the Deccan. As the capture of Aḥmadnagar was delayed, and the army was in some distress from the dearness of provisions, the wicked raised their heads here and there. The Prince (Daniel) asked for reinforcements. Accordingly Bāz Bahādur, Khān Qulī, Raḥīm Dād, Payinda Beg, and many others, were sent under the command of the Mīrzā. Many good advices were given to him, and one *lakh* of *mohars* was made over to Iftikhār¹ in order that he might convey them to the Prince. On the 22nd Khwājagī Fath Ullah together with Zāhid, Mīr ‘Abdu-l-ḥai and others had an audience. When they went on the expedition against Lalang, the garrison capitulated on account of want of food and delivered up the keys. He (Fath Ullah) brought Malik Sher and some Khāndesh soldiers—who sought to submit—to court after having made treaties. Every one of them received suitable favours.

774 At this time Nāsik fell out of the hands of the imperial servants. The troops were exerting themselves to take Aḥmadnagar. Some Bījāpūr troops came to protect their boundaries, and this caused much anxiety. Interested persons, who were lovers of commotion, represented that their coming was for a different motive, and the imperialists were nearly retiring from the siege. Fortune prevented this, but they inopportunately recalled the Nāsik army, and so the conquered country had inevitably, and in the most disgraceful manner, to be abandoned. On the 14th they joined at Aḥmadnagar. On 5th Shahriyūr Shāham² Jalāir died of diarrhoea. H.M. prayed for forgiveness for this old man and ancient servant.

buried alive is untrue or the date is not that of her death, but of the building of the tomb. The Iqbāl-nāma makes excuses for Salīm. It says nothing about his wanting to go to the Panjāb and says Mān Singh begged him to go to Bengal on account of the recent defeat of the imperialists. As Salīm's servants' *jāgīrs* were near Agra he exchanged them with those of Aṣaf K. and others who had lands near Allahabād. Though some servants, and especially those who had lands in Allahabād, put a wrong colour on Salīm's proceed-

ings, Akbar behaved lovingly and sent a kind letter of advice to Salīm by Khwājah ‘Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad.

¹ B. 516. Probably this is the son of Bayāzīd Biyāt, the writer of memoirs.

² B. 410. The statement there and in the Maṣīr-u. II. 605, that he died in the last month of 1009, May-June 1601, seems incorrect. According to A. F. in the 2nd month of 1009, it was August 1600. It was his father who lost his life at the battle of Chausa when trying to save Humāyūn's queens.

CHAPTER CXLIV.

THE CAPTURE OF THE FORT OF AHMADNAGAR THROUGH THE FORTUNE
OF THE SHĀHINSHAH.

Assuredly, dominion comes unsought to those rulers with whom increase of territory brings increase of humility and devotion. And what they desire is carried to the height of fulfilment in spite of thousands of stones in the way. The account of this great victory is another instance of this. The idea of those who had been sent on this duty was that they would give their minds to it after the rains. H.M. continually ordered exertion and his standards arrived at Burhānpūr. So they were compelled to undertake the work. Cānd Bībī made the same propositions as she had made to the writer, whilst Abhang K. came to the top of the hills with a large force of Abyssinians and Deccanīs and meditated fighting. On the eve¹ of 26th Farwardīn (about 5th April, 1601) the day of Fortune manifested itself gloriously. Dissension broke out among the Deccan soldiers, and this one and that one declared that some of the leaders were treating with the imperialists. The leader (Abhang) lost courage and disbanded without a battle. Next morning the Pass was crossed and a camp formed near Ahmadnagar. On 2nd Ardibihisht (about 12th April) the batteries were distributed. First, there were the special servants of the Prince; secondly, Shāhrukh M., the Khān-khānān, M. Yūsuf K., Mīr Martazā, Jagannāth, Sher Khwāja, M. ‘Alī Beg, Khwāja Beg, M. Iftikhār² K., Kīcak Khwāja, Muḥammad

¹ Ferishta's account is that Abhang (called Nihang by Briggs) had 15,000 horse, and was guarding the mouth of the Pass, but when he heard that the imperialists were approaching Ahmadnagar, and were devastating the country, he burnt his tents and fled to Janīr. Cf.

Meadows-Taylor's A Noble Queen, chapter on the second siege. It would seem that Abhang gave up the defence because he learned that some of the other leaders were intriguing with the imperialists.

² The MSS. have I'tibar. But the Iqbāl-nāma has Iftikhār Beg.

K. and other brave men. Cānd Bibī renewed her promises. On hearing of this Jītā¹ K., the eunuch, with some evil persons inside (the fort) put to death that choice lady, and with the help² of the 'Itibār K., Mīr Ṣafī, Mīr Taqī and Ḥājī Muḥammad they proceeded to fire the cannon. Owing to the love for delay of some of the leaders, an easy task became difficult, and several sallies were made from the fort, but they returned without success. By the energetic endeav-
775 ours of the Prince, able servants set themselves to make a glacis (*khākreẓ*). So they filled up the moat and came close to the walls. The moat was from thirty to forty yards broad and seven deep. The wall was of bluish stone (basalt?) and twenty-seven yards high. Though great efforts were made (everywhere) yet there was especial activity in the batteries of the Prince and of M. Yūsuf K. Mines were made in several places, but the garrison found them out and filled them up. Strange to say, they made a shaft from within and set fire to the mine, but it became extinguished in the glacis, and no harm was done. The explosion (*sust-paiwandī rāḥ yāft*) split a tower of the fortress. When this was discovered, they³ (the enemy) tried

¹ Text Ḥabsha K., i.e. the Abyssinian Khan, but the Lucknow ed. I.O. MS. 236 and Farishta call him Jīta K., and this seems the correct reading. It was very easy to mistake جیتا for حبشه. See also Blochmann 336 note. Briggs calls him Ḥamīd K.

² The sentence is obscure but it appears from the Iqbāl-nāma that these persons were Deccanis and that after they killed Cānd Sultan they proceeded to fire at the imperialists. Neither Abul Faẓl nor the lithographed (Lucknow) edition of Ferishta gives the date of Cānd Sultan's death, but a MS. of Ferishta in my possession says she was put to death in the beginning of Muḥarram 1009. This would be 3rd July, 1600. Her death was not immediately followed by the storming of the fort-

ress, for that did not take place till 16th August.

³ The sentence is obscure. In Elliot VI. 100 it is rendered: "efforts were made to clear out the chasm, and this being effected, 180 *mans* of gunpowder were placed therein." The text and the MSS. say the attempt to clear out the place did not succeed. I think that the words *khālī sākhṭā* must mean the same thing as the *tahī kardā* of p. 700, line 13. A. F. writes elliptically and possibly a word has been left out in his MS. Some mines were destroyed by the besieged, but with one, or perhaps with the chasm caused by the explosion, they failed. This was then filled by the imperialists and exploded. Cf. Faizī's account, I.O. MS. 192, p. 245, which is fuller and better than A. F.'s

to empty it (the mine), but as the crack was in the skirt (of the bastion) they did not succeed. 180 *mans* of gunpowder were put in and on 6th Shahrīyūr,¹ 16th August, 1600, at breakfast time, they were fired. Much of the tower—which was known as Lailā—and 30 yards of the wall were blown up. By the wonders of fortune the stones crushed the enemy to pieces and did not injure the besiegers. Active men entered by this route, and many penetrated from the batteries of M. Yūsuf K. 1,500 of the garrison were put to the sword. Some were saved by the instrumentality of their acquaintances. Bahādur, the son of Ibrāhīm and grandson of Burhān,—whom they had made Nizāmu-l-mulk,—was captured. Valuable jewels, embroidered articles, a noble library and many other things, and 25 elephants, were obtained. The guns and powder were beyond computation. One of the wonderful things of fortune was that during the time of the siege—which was the rainy season—no rain fell, and the glacis was easily made. On the day after the victory it rained. The fortress was taken after four months and four days, and the drums of joy beat high. In two days² the news was brought to Burhānpūr and there was much giving of thanks. Bulletins of victory were sent everywhere, and there was a daily market of joy.

On the 8th the disturbance in Kashmīr subsided. When H.M.

account. Faizī uses the word *surang* “a mine.” B.M. MS. 27247 has a slightly different reading. It has *chūn az īn shigāf gāh ke dar dāmna būd niyārastand yāft*. Perhaps the meaning is that the fissure in the base of the tower prevented the besieged from crossing in order to destroy the mine. There is a full account of Ahmadnagar in Campbell's Bombay Gazetteer, but apparently it is not stated of what kind of stone the fort wall is composed. The fort is situated half a mile to the east of the city.

¹ Faizī Sirhindi seems to have 8th and says about 70 yards of the wall were thrown down. He adds a chronogram made by M'āṣūm Bhak-

karī. “*Dānyāl Aḥmadnagar banamūd faṭh* (1009).” Instead of 8th Shahrīyūr, Elliot VI. 145 has 20th, but *hashtam* and *bīstam* are much alike in Persian. Faizī also says id. 144 that the fort was taken on 18th Ṣafr, i.e. 19th August, 1600.

² Faizī S. says the news was brought to Burhānpūr on 21st Ṣafr, 22nd August 1600, after three hours of the night. The fortress had been taken on 18th Ṣafr. He calls Cānd Bībī Cānd Bāī. Faizī's account may be compared with A. F. Elliot VI. 144. But the translation there is not complete. Farishta assigns the chief merit of the capture of Ahmadnagar to Khwājah Abūl Husain (Āṣaf K.) the dīwān of Prince Daniel.

marched to the Deccan, some turbulent fellows in that country raised up Ab-yā Cak, the son of Husain K., and filled that pleasant land with vapour. 'Alī Qulī, the son of Muḥammad Qulī, Kalb 'Alī, Shāh Beg Nakdarī and other good servants fought a battle at Phāknagar,¹ and were victorious. So also a sedition was raised in Kamrāj. Jamāl Beg and some brave men punished them in Tīlagāon,² and that delightful country had repose. On the 12th Amān Ullah, the son of Saif K. Koka, died in Burhānpūr. That excellent youth, from observ-
776 ing the ways of his contemporaries, fell into drinking habits, and threw away his life in that way.

One of the occurrences was the death of Jalāla Tārīkī. The Loḥānī tribe practised buying and selling in Ghaznīn. Before this, the Hazāras lay in wait and attacked them. For seven days they stood firm and fought. They were overcome by thirst and turned back, and sought help from the leader of the Tārīkīs. On the 9th he came as a merchant to Ghaznīn. The servants of Sharīf K. and the peasants made some fight and then withdrew. That wicked one set himself to practise trickery, and gathered many goods under the pretext of purchasing them. On the 16th he wanted to take the things home. Shādmān Hazāra and others opposed him, and after a little fighting were victorious. The Tārīkīs took to flight, and that illfated one was wounded and went to the hill of Rabāt. Murād Beg and some others came and finished him. The great material of sedition was easily disposed of. For a long time numerous soldiers had been appointed to punish him, and some years before this, Zain K. Koka and many brave men had made an expedition against him. By the strength of Fortune some unknown men did his business. In this year Bhān,³ the son of Sujān Singh, died in Burhānpūr. He was a landholder in the eastern countries (*khāwarī mirz*), and was distinguished for bravery. An old servant of his had become mad, and at a time when he (Sujān or Bhān) was naked and had no

¹ Text Bhāk. See J. II. 369.

² Probably this is the Telkām of J. II. 371.

³ I think that the text is corrupt. The sentence is certainly obscure and I am not sure if I have under-

stood it. The MSS. say nothing of Bhān. According to them it was Sujān who was killed. What they say is, "In this year and month Sujān was killed." The variant also leaves out the name of Bhān.

weapon with him, the servant struck him some blows with a sword, and in a short while he died of his wounds.

In the beginning of Mihr Sādāt K. came to court. For some time no messages came from the garrison of Āsīr. By H.M.'s orders the writer wrote some counsels to Bahādur K. He sent that saiyid—who was his sister's husband (*īzna*) and chief swordsman (*mīr shams̄hēr*)¹—with ten elephants. He obtained an audience, and made the same statement as before. As it was untrue, it was not accepted. An order was given for sending back the presents, and it was said that “the governor of the garrison has not awoke from his slumber. It will be well for him to come out of his sleep soon. Blandishments are of no use.” Sādāt said, “With great difficulty have I brought myself out of those difficulties, and have long had a desire to serve the sublime court.” As his speech had the glory of truth, it was accepted, and he was raised to the rank of 1,000. Shaikh Pīr Muḥammad Ḥusain, one of his companions, carried back the reply. On 3rd Ābān Akhairāj came from Aḥmadnagar. He had conveyed an order from H.M. The Prince (Daniel) sent some of the Nizām-ul-Mulkī ladies with him, and every one of them received suitable favours. On the 5th the feast of the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. High and low had 777 their wishes gratified. On the 23rd the troops arrived at Junair.² That city was the abode of the Nizām-ul-Mulki's ancestors. The fort is called Bīr.³ When Aḥmadnagar was conquered, M. Khān was sent there. Burhān-ul-mulk, 'Imād K., Ḥabīb K., 'Alī Sher K., and others accompanied him. By God's help it was taken without a contest. No long time had elapsed when the Hindia landholder and some other ignorant persons had come to fight. They were punished. The garrison proposed capitulation and the delivery of the keys. On the 8th Āzar H.M. visited the tomb of Bīca (Jījī). As the Khān Ā'zim M. Koka was sending the body to Delhi, the appreciative sovereign came there and begged forgiveness for her. From there

¹ Apparently means his best officer.

² The Joonair of Meadows-Taylor, the Djounar of Reclus and the Junnar of the I.G. It is 56 m. north of Poona.

³ So in text, but evidently this is wrong. Probably Shivner I.G. XXII. 294 is right. There is the variant Sīr. Shivner is the birth-place of Sīvajī.

he proceeded to Lāl Bāgh and took some repose. As the charge of that flower-garden was with the writer he made some humble representations, and the door was opened to auspiciousness.

CHAPTER CXLV.

THE CAPTURE OF MĀLĪGARH BY THE MIGHT OF DAILY-INCREASING FORTUNE.

Āsīr is a choice fortress, and unequalled for height and strength. In its waist (*kamargāh*) on the W. and somewhat¹ to the N. side there is a noted fort called Mālīgarh. Whoever desires to enter the great fortress must first pass by Mālīgarh. Separate from it on the N. and N.E., there is a Mālī, and that they call Jūna Mālī. But the wall of it had not been completed. From the E. to the S.W., there are smaller hills. To the S. there is a high hill called Korhī (Kodhī). To the S.W. there is a high hill called Sāpan. The wicked rebels had made all the places strong by means of guns and men. The last² (Sāpan) had been previously captured. Shortsighted persons thought that the place could not be taken. On account of the dear-ness of provisions and the distance from their homes, high and low were dejected. The scattering of gold by the garrison had seduced

¹ It appears from the I.O. MSS. and from B. XXIII and the Maasir II. 614 that the text of the Bib. Ind. is corrupt. Not only is the word *lakhta* "somewhat" missed out, but also it appears that what A. F. wrote was that there were two forts or outworks, viz. Mālī and Antarī Mālī, and that whoever wished to get to Āsīr must first pass through these two forts. Cf. II. 223 where it is said that Āsīr is encompassed by three other forts. The third fort, apparently, is Jūnī or Cūnī Mālī. But perhaps it is Korhīh. Faiẓī S. has a very long account of the siege of Āsīr, but he dwells chiefly upon the exploits of Farīd Bak^hshī, and

says nothing about A. F.'s capture of Mālīgarh. See Elliot VI. 132 *et seq.* which however is not a complete translation. See also the account of Āsīr in Noer's Akbar, English translation, II. 353 *et seq.*, and in the I.G. Ferishta in his chapter on the kings of Khāndesh has a description of Āsīr from personal observation, and Tiefenthaler has a notice of it, accompanied by a rude drawing of Burhānpūr and Āsīr. The best description occurs in Campbell's Bombay Gazetteer, volume for Khāndesh. At p. 576 there is a plan of the fort. The name is there spelt Asīrgad.

² See p. 772.

some of the intimate courtiers from their duty. One of the garrison joined Qarā Beg and pointed out a secret path by which one could come over the wall of Mālī. As there was no enquiry into work, no attention was paid to this. When the matter was reported to H.M. the informer was regarded as being mad, and by representing that many men would be killed they prevented H.M. from giving permission (for the expedition). Occasionally he sent the writer to look after the batteries. However much I tried, the men would not give their minds to the subject, and from an ill-timed humility I did not reproach or censure them. On 17th Āzar I was sent back to that employment. As I knew something of the essence of the matter

778 I had got permission to the effect that whatever I should determine should be carried out by the others. When I came there, Qarā Beg described the path, and fresh vigour was imparted to my resolutions. I arranged with the commanders of the batteries that within this week they would turn their face towards the True Disposer (God) and would run to the taking of the fort. When the sound of drum and trumpet reached their ears, every one was to come with ladders, and beat the drum loudly.¹ Though they agreed, *volentes*, yet many thought it was madness.

On the night of the 18th (28th November, 1600), which was dark and rainy, select men were told off and assembled on the top of the hill Sāpan. At midnight I sent off Qarā Beg first with a party of men. Similarly I sent off men gradually from the batteries, also my own servants. At the latter part of the night some of the first body entered upon the secret path, and broke open the gate of Mālī. Many brave men entered the fort and sounded the drums and the trumpet. On account of the delay in the coming of the rest (i.e., the men whom A. F. had ordered to follow), the garrison gathered together and stood to fight. On perceiving this, I myself followed. While traversing the hill the guide made some mistake. In the heat of the battle, and the rain of cannon-balls, at dawn² I mounted the scaling-ladder, and the imperialists, who had been in difficulty

¹ Cf. B. XXII.

² The passage is a difficult one, and I am not sure of the meaning. The I.O. MSS. and the Cawnpore MSS. have *farogh* before *subahgāh* or

subahgāhī, but this does not seem important. I suppose that *farogh* must here mean rope-ladders, especially as there already had been an order about bringing ladders (*si*

acquired fresh vigour. In a short time the enemy retreated and fled in confusion to Āsīr. The True Disposer granted a great victory, and this weak and humble individual acquired a great name. When the glory of the sun took possession of the world, the men of the other batteries came from all sides. Peshrau¹ K., Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, and Jagdeo displayed activity and took possession of Korhī. Āgā Mullā also followed up in a proper manner with the men of Āṣaf K. The men of Farīd Bakhshī Begī, Bahādur K., Raḥmat K., Siyām Singh, the sons of Samānjī K. (B. 441) and other heroes acted quickly and took possession of Jūna Mālī. Owing to daily-increasing fortune a great victory displayed her countenance, and many fell into the tortures of envy.

Verse.

Morning came with blessing.

The dark night of sorrow ended.

Victory came from six sides.

Dominion uttered gratulations on two sides.

Where can I have the strength to return thanks to God? How I set about doing so? 'Tis better that like guilty implorers Istrate my heart's forehead in supplication, and that in acknowledgment of the Divine decree I abstain from associating myself with the creator.

God be praised! The penetration of H.M. was again impressed high and low, and the pearl of vision acquired fresh lustre. As 779 was not imagined that the ruler of Khandesh would shut his gates the face of the World's ruler, a siege-train had not been brought. Though, after arrival, by a thousand efforts some guns were brought

am not sure whether *bar shud* means arriving with the ladders or mounting on them. The Darbārī parī, p. 481 top, makes A. F.'s conduct even more heroic than A. F. himself makes it, for it makes A. F. first to enter the fort, saying the others then followed him like ants. Also apparently says that A. F. the ropes or ladders put down the inside of the wall. Appar-

ently A. F. means to signalise his own bravery by saying that he mounted or arrived during the rain and the cannonade, and while the morning revealed him to the enemy.

¹ Possibly this is Asad Beg, the author of the *Wiqāya*, though according to Elliot VI. 150 he did not get the title of Peshrau K. till Jahāngīr's reign.

from Parnāla, Gāwāl and Aḥmadābād, yet from inattention they were not of much use. In spite of this, H.M. was continually saying, "This fort will soon be taken." And many accepting the soothing words continued to slumber. On the 27th Mīr Murtaẓā came from Aḥmadnagar and was exalted by doing homage. His good services were rewarded by a flag, a drum and a fertile *jāgīr*. On the 29th the Khān-khānān paid his respects and he brought Bahādur,¹ whom they had raised to the Nizāmu-l-mulki. Kabīr K., the son of Bahādur K., Khawāja Abu-l-ḥasan, Kāmal-al-mulk, Wazīr K., and some headmen of Khāndesh—who were in charge of the Deccan—had an audience, and received favours.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Bahādur K. On the same day that Mālīgarh was taken by God's help, he awoke from his somnolence, and sent an ambassador to the author. He spoke of capitulating and of paying his respects (to Akbar). I did not accept the statements and made no reply, but at his earnest entreaty I sent on the envoy to court. On 23rd Āzar H.M. sent Rām Dās to him and on the fourth day he brought with him Muqarrib K., who was a chosen servant of his. The purport of his message was that if the fortress and the country were restored to him, and if the prisoners were released, he would hasten to submit. It is a custom of long standing that one of the Farūqīs sits on the throne, and the others—brothers and relatives—remain in confinement. They spend their days in obscurity with their families. H.M. accepted the proposal and granted life and honour. Next day the Abyssinian returned and petitioned. "Now his (Bahādur's) request is that the Khān Ā'ẓim M. Koka would take his hand and bring him to court." This was agreed to and he (M. Koka) came to Mālī, and Bahādur K. descended from Āsīr. On the 30th he rubbed his forehead on the threshold of fortune, and obtained deliverance from various sorrows. His two young children, Afẓal K. and Khudāwand K., and many others, had an audience, and they were allotted a place in the advance-camp (*peshkhāna*) of S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī. An order was given for keeping them under supervision. On 17th Dai S. 'Abdullah K. and Rajah Rāj Singh came from Gwaliyar, and Mīr Sharīf Āmulī from his *jāgīr*, and Sher Beg from Bengal. Every one of them was

¹ He was sent to Gwaliar and he was there when the last Nizām Shah

was sent there in 10 43, 1633. See Elliot II. 43 and Badshāhnāmah 540.

gratified with princely favours. On 4th Bahman the feast of the lunar weighment took place. H.M. was weighed against eight articles, and high and low gained their desires, and there was renewal of joy.

CHAPTER CXLVI.

THE CAPTURE OF ĀSĪR BY THE HELP OF FORTUNE.

780 There is no other instance of a fortress which had such abundance of stores, such numbers of guns, so many defenders, and other materials of defence. The extraordinary thing is that although H.M. had no equipment for a siege, yet he addressed himself to the capture. After the fortress had been invested for some time sickness broke out in it. Every day there were many deaths. When such mortality occurred among the commonalty, it did not awaken the great men of the garrison from their lethargy. From time to time they devised new stratagems. By the taking of Mālīgarh exit and entrance were stopped, and they were aroused somewhat. At last, at the instance of some servants of the Shāhinshāh, an agreement to this effect was made¹: First, Bahādur should appear at court. Second, H.M. should restore to him the fortress and county, "otherwise, said Bahādur, the garrison will not submit to my proposal. When the idea became fact, and a petition was made in accordance with what he (Bahādur) had learnt, the writer obtained leave to attack the fortress. This suppliant at the court of God proceeded to do this, and made supplication to God his forefront. Though exertions were made to push on the batteries from near Korhāih, and leave was obtained for the bringing of great guns, yet secretly all men engaged in enticing the garrison. By soothing words they drew their hearts towards them. The latter represented that some writing² of Bahādur should be obtained, addressed to such and such an one, so that no stain of a bad name might fall upon them for delivering up the fort. They also asked for a firmān from H.M., securing them their lives, their property and their honour. This was granted. Bahādur K. for some time hesitated to write, and made untrue reports

¹ Apparently it ought to be "proposed."

² It will be remembered that by

this time Bahādur had perished, surrendered, and was in Bakhshī's camp.

CHAPTER CXLVII.

BEGINNING OF THE 46TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT THE YEAR **786**
DAI OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

At this time, when the world had assumed a fresh appearance from the sway of H.M., and he was earnestly returning thanks, the heavens attired themselves, and the earth engaged in adornment. On the night of Saturday, 15th Ramzān, 1009, 10th March, 1601, the Light-giver glorified Aries, and the tenth year of the fourth cycle began.

Verse.

Spring compounded the earth's dust with musk.
The clouds freshened the running streams with wine.
You'd say, "Spring has united with love."
You'd say, "God has produced love out of Spring."

By orders of the world's ruler, great preparations¹ were made and delightful exhibitions took place. From the entry of the sun into Aries to the culmination, the arrangements of each day were committed to one of the royal servants, and there were times of joy. On 8th Farwardīn Rai Patr Dās was raised to the rank of 3,000. On the 10th Tātār² Beg was made guardian of Sultān Khurram (Shāh Jahān). Skill and watchfulness arrived at their destination, and propriety raised her head. On this day the news came of the success in Bengal, as has already been mentioned. Thanks were returned to God. On the 11th, Sher Khwāja and M. 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī—who had done good service in the Deccan—received each a flag and a drum, and so got the reward of their good deeds. On the 13th M. Yūsuf K. had an audience, and was delivered from much grief. When Shāh 'Alī's son became prosperous, and the road

¹ Faizī Sirhindī says that the illuminations at Lahore and Agra could hardly be equalled.

² The Iqbāl-nāma calls him Tātār Beg Safarcī.

to Aḥmadnagar became closed, some men awoke from the sleep of neglect, and set themselves to remedy matters. M. Rustum, M. Yūsuf K., and many others, were sent to cross the Ganges (Godavery) and station themselves at Shāhgarha, so as to make the road safe, and to restrain the hands of the wicked from attacking the country. The proper thing was for the troops to have gone to Dhārwar¹ and to have overset that compound of sedition. But strife-mongers did not permit this. The Mīrzā was stunned on receiving² the news. He had neither the courage to report what he had learned nor the strength to carry through the work. He was continually begging to be allowed to come to court, and representing that he was disgusted with the Deccan. H.M. accepted his petition and summoned him to come quickly. On this day Akhairāj³ suddenly died. He was distinguished for discretion among the Kacwāh clan. On the 14th, Jagannāth⁴ was raised to the high office of 5,000, and Mīr Khwāja, **787** the son of Sultān Khwāja, was raised to the rank of 500. On the 16th, Bahādur K. Gīlānī was defeated. He had been left with a small equipment in Telingāna. ‘Ambar Jīū attacked with a large force of Deccanīs and Abyssinians. He made little fight and then retired. As the fact was concealed owing to interested motives, that evil disposed Abyssinian collected a number of presumptuous men, and the prosperity of the rebellious increased. At the festival of the culmination Prince Sultān Daniel gave a great feast and presented valuable jewels, which had been taken at Aḥmadnagar. They were

¹ Text wrongly has Dhār. The place meant is the Dhārwar of the I.G. and the Dhārur of J. II. 234 in Sarkār Narnālah. The I.O. MS. 236 has Dhārwar.

² The I.O. MS. 236 has *basīa* before *agahī* and apparently the meaning is that the Mīrzā lost his head. The word *azīn* “from this” is not in the said MS.

³ Faizī Sirhindī I.O. MS. 192, p. 250a, says that on this day (that on which M. Yūsuf arrived) Bānkī Rai, the grandson of Rajah Bihārī Mal, and cousin of Rajah Mān Singh,

suddenly died. Up to midday he was in the Darbār and was playing *chaupar* (draughts), when suddenly there was a change. He was taken to his quarters, but died on the way. This must be the person called in text Akhairāj, and he must be the Bānka Rai of B. 495, who served in Kabul. But the name in Bib. Ind. ed. is Balka, though there is the variant Bānka. The Iqbāl-nāma has Akhairāj, or perhaps Ughrāj, for there are no vowel points.

⁴ B. 387. He was a son of Bihārī Mal.

accepted. Though he produced bits of stone, which by the marvels of fortune have a great value, yet he brought to market the precious jewel of sincerity, which does not come within the mould of price. On this day the loving sovereign brought out Mozaffar Husain M. and Afrāsyāb from prison and treated them with favour. High and low were astonished at this graciousness. On this day Manūcihr and M. 'Alī, the ambassadors of Persia, obtained leave. They were to go on in advance and make preparations in Lahore. An ambassador was to go afterwards from court, together with presents, when arrangements had been made for their going to that country.

One of the occurrences was the vagabondage of 'Alī,¹ the son of Walī K., one of the former Amīrs of Barīd. He was living at Bījāpūr and indulging in thoughts of greatness when some people sent for him to the city of Bīdar and kept him concealed. At the time when Mūmin² went from court, for the purpose of conveying counsels, 'Alī came out of the fort with the idea of being received (by Mūmin), and remained quietly in the city. On the 20th, rebels and slaves of money brought him³ in and raised a tumult. 'Alī was helpless and went off by way of Narwān (?) to Golkonda with his wife and family. Evil-disposed persons came after him, and seized his mother and some of his other relations, and wickedly put them to death. As his supplications to the sublime court had not the glory of deeds (i.e. were not accompanied by acts), his days became thus clouded, and the world had warning. On this day Jānish⁴ Bahādur died of diarrhoea. He was a distinguished soldier. He was in Rāmpūri. On the 22nd the eastern rebels submitted. When Rajah Mān Singh

¹ The MSS. vary and the text is probably corrupt. The Barīd princes were, some of them, called Amīrs. Perhaps the 'Alī here mentioned is the person who in 1010 became king of Bīdar under the title of Mīrzā 'Alī. See Ferishta's account of the Barīd princes, and Tiefenthaler I. 493. Ferishta speaks of M. 'Alī as reigning in 1018 (1609).

² See p. 782.

³ *badarūn* but I.O. MS. 236 has *badān*. I.O. MS. 235 has, rebels

brought in people from the fort and made a disturbance.

⁴ The passage about Jānish Bahādur is in neither of the I.O. MSS. Faizī S., I.O. MS. 192, 250*b*, says that Jānish died on 4th *Shawāl*, 29th March, 1601, and that on 1st *Zil q'ada* 24th April, and on the same day as M. *Shāhrukh* presented himself, Jānish's ten sons appeared before H.M. The eldest of them was only twelve.

gained the victory, he pursued the enemy, and did not turn back till he came to Moheshpūr near Bushna and Jessore. The Afghans chose a strong position. As on every side there were marshes and it was impossible to reach the place easily, the Rajah appointed active people (to watch them) and addressed himself to opening out the country, and increasing cultivation. On the 22nd Shujāh, the son of M'aṣūm K. Kābulī and S'aīd, the son of Lācīn¹ and others capitulated and came in. They presented elephants, etc. After M'aṣūm K. had died, a purchased slave of Mozaffar K.—a Qalmāq—
788 had made himself a name by the sword, and had taken the name of Bāz Bahādur. He had won over all the rebellious Tūrānīs. At this time he, from a happy star, sent them and his son, and he himself made firm promises. The Rajah showed kindness to them all, and the commotion in that country diminished. On the 23rd twelve accountants (*bitikcī*) were appointed to the charge of the special cavalry. Each had the charge of 1,000 horse. On the 26th, Dar Jūdhan, the grandson of Rām Cand, was made a Rajah. The command of the fort of Bāndhū was given to him and Bhārtī Cand was appointed the guardian of that youth.

At this time the writer went off to remedy the affair of Shāh 'Alī's son. It has been mentioned that this duty had been regarded as more important, and that I was kept back from going to Nāsik. In the end of Isfandārmaz of the previous year I joined the Khān-khānān near Barangāon.² Suddenly news came that Wankū³ (?) landholder had come to Aḥmadnagar as he had quarrelled with 'Ādil K. Bījāpūrī. Though he put forward the pretext of being obedient, yet there was no security that he would not play tricks. He is a great proprietor and has lands in Aḥmadnagar. He had 5,000 horse and 12,000 foot. In that year he (the Khān-khānān) considered that it was indispensable to soothe him at Jālnāpūr and so separated and proceeded thither. I was sent off to put the affair of Shāh 'Alī's son to rights. On the 27th I arrived at the bank of the Ganges. M. Rustum, Mīr Martazā, Bahādur-al-mulk, M. Lashkarī, together with many servants of M. Yūsuf K., Shujā'at K., and other servants who had previously been appointed to this work, joined me. On the

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma has Lācīn Qāq-shāl.

² In Dāndes, J. II. 225.

³ Cf. 794, 7 lines from foot. The Iqbāl-nāma seems to call him Waskūī.

29th the fort of Gālnah¹ was taken. It is one of the choice forts of the district of Aḥmadnagar. Sa'adat K. held it. For a long time he had been anxious to enter service. When Khwājagī Fath Ullah came to that fort, he properly came forward and saw him, and made over that skyey fortress.

On 3rd Ardibihisht two *lakhs* of *mohurs* were given to Prince Sulṭān Daniel, and the power of conquering the country was increased. On the 4th 'Alī (B. 496) Mardān Bahādur was made prisoner. He was the commander of the Talingānah troops. He had come to Pāthri to help Sher Khwājah. When he heard of the defeat of Bahādur K. Gīlānī, he went back to that quarter, and foolishly engaged without proper preparation. Most of his men fled without fighting. He stood firm and was captured. On this day the news came that Datman² Dās was dead. He was the son of Rām Dās, and had gone to his home without leave, and had proceeded to vex the weak. At the request of his father an order was sent, and the servants of Shāh Qulī K. brought him to court. The turbulent fellow engaged in battle and lost his life. That chosen servant (Rām Dās) was grieved on account of his child. H.M. went to his antechamber (*peshkhāna*)³ and administered consolation, and applied balm to the inward wound. 789

One of the occurrences was the sending of S. 'Abdu-r-rahmān to Telingāna. The author's idea was that he should punish the son of Shāh 'Alī. When what has been described happened to 'Alī Mardān Bahādur, and Telingāna was lost, and commotion rose high, I wished to send M. Rustum to that quarter. He at the guidance of crooked-minded persons refused. I was compelled to send my son on that service. I sent with him 1,200 of my own horse. Bahādur-al-mulk, Rustum 'Arab, Shamsheer 'Arab and some servants of the

¹ Kālna in text. It is the Jālna of I.G. XIV. 29 which says that Abul Faḍl resided there for some time. Perhaps this statement is borne out by A.F.'s mentioning at p. 794 that he repeopled Jālnāpūr.

² Variant Dīman, but the MSS. seem to have Damman.

³ The I.O. MSS. have *teshkhāna*,

which I do not understand, and the Iqbalnāma has *āta~~sh~~khāna* "fire-temple." The Maasir II. 157 calls the son Taman, and has the variant Naman which B. 483 adopts. Most of the MSS. seem to have *peshkhāna*. The word occurs again at p. 799, line 16.

Shāhinshāh were enrolled in this force. I also sent comforting letters to Sher Khwāja and to some who were in Pāthri (Patri of the maps), and made them eager for battle. On this day S. Daulat had an audience. He had done good service in the Deccan army. He had been vexed by the carelessness of the administrators of this country and begged to be allowed to come to court. His request was granted and he was summoned.

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

THE RETURN OF H.M. TO AGRA, THE CAPITAL.

Before the taking of Aḥmadnagar, the imperial servants—some from love of their homes, some on account of the high prices, and some from a spirit of competition (*dukān ārāī*)—tried hard to induce the sovereign to return without taking Āsīr. H.M. silenced every one by his replies. When that fortress had been taken, they increased their intrigues. The sole idea of the Shāhinshāh was to clear the territory of Aḥmadnagar of the weeds and rubbish of rebellion, and then to prevail over Bījāpūr, Golkanda and Bīdar, so that the rulers of these places should make binding treaties of obedience. Meanwhile supplicatory letters from them came to court, and those who were urging departure got strong documentary support. H.M. had no mind to leave before the return of the ambassadors. But owing to the urgent endeavours of high and low he left on the 11th¹ (Ardibihisht, 21st April 1601). In spite² of the daily market of intelligence (of Akbar) the position was not understood. On the eve of the 12th many left the writer without asking permission. For a long time, on the report of the Shāhinshāh's march, their faces had been turned towards Hindustan. When the report became loud there was a wonderful turmoil. The Deccan rebels rose up in insurrection, and there were daily fights. J'afar, the son of M. Yūsuf K., fell into the hands of the Deccanīs at this time and this was a cause of making them presumptuous. Also the Prince's sending for his ladies from Aḥmadnagar increased the confusion. M. Rustum went off with the soldiers of M. Yūsuf K., and H.M. on hearing of this debarred him for some time from the privilege of the

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¹ Faizī S. gives the corresponding Hijra date 26th Shawal, 20th April, and says Akbar left Burhānpūr at breakfast time, and halted after marching one *kos*.

² The sentence is obscure and I.O. MS. 236 has *tā* instead of *bā*. Possibly the meaning is that Akbar's departure was not known till the market day.

kornish. Inasmuch as my heart was turned towards devotion to God, I did not take these things into account, and always had a victorious countenance (?). On the 14th, Rai Durgā Rai and Bhoj joined this army. Rai Rai Singh and these two and many others had been directed to join the author. There was some delay at their request (?) and the first-mentioned heard of a commotion in his quarters and took leave to go there. Though they had not energy, yet their joining me was a source of strength. On the 15th, M. Shahrukh paid his respects to H.M. The Prince had left him in charge of Aḥmadnagar. When the Khān-khānān went there, he came to court by H.M.'s orders, and had his heart satisfied. On this day Khawājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain was raised to the rank of 1,000. He is the younger brother of Qāsim K., and has few equals for truth and honesty. He was made superintendent of the kitchen (*bakāwal begī*). On the 20th, Kharram, the son of M. Koka got leave to go to Jūnagarh. This was because that country had been given to the kokaltāsh in fief. On the 25th, Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī, who had done good service in Bangash, was raised to the rank of 2,500. On the 26th, twenty elephants and a like number of elephant guns (*hatnāl*) and ten horses and some presents were given to the author. This was a source of victory. On the 28th, Prince Sultān Daniel received leave at the Narbadda¹ to go to Burhānpūr. H.M.'s idea was to take this nursling of dominion with him elephant hunting. As some dispersion among the southern soldiers was reported to H.M., he was sent back. M. Shāhrukh, M. Rustum, M. Yūsuf K., Yūsuf² Barkhūr-dār, Shihābu-d-dīn Qandahārī, Mas'aūd K. Ḥabshī and 3,000 Badakhshī Aimāqs—who had recently come from Tūrān³—and many servants were sent along with him, and the commotion somewhat diminished.

On this day Fort Trimbak⁴ fell into the hands of the imperial servants. It is one of the choice forts of Aḥmadnagar. The fountain of the Ganges (Godavery) rises up in it, and it is regarded as a

¹ Faizī S. says at Ghorgāon.

² Son of Ḥusain K. Tukriya (Iqbāl-nāma).

³ They came now from Lahore and Agra. Akbar told them they would have to serve for one year

in Deccan, and that after that their stay would be optional (Faizī).

⁴ J. II. 228 and note. It is in the Nāsik district and about 50 m. from the Indian Ocean.

great place of worship. S'aādat K. held it. As he had come in and submitted and had made over Gālnah, envoys were sent there, and that fort, together with 15 noted elephants—which were kept in it—were given as *peshkash* to the sovereign. The leaders of the soldiers were disgusted, and did not arrange to hold the fort and returned and so Rājū came there with a large force and made war. Every time that there was a battle, he was defeated. Rājah Baharjī, 791 Hāshīm Beg, Fūlād K., Malik Sher, the Bārha Saiyids, and 'Azmat K. performed great feats. Every one went off to his fief, and that turbulent one returned and prevailed over the fort.

One of the occurrences was the victory of S. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān.¹ When he was sent to put down the commotion in Telingāna, Sher Khwāja soon joined him and celebrated the banquet of concord. They made skill act together with courage. Shāh 'Alī's son sent off Farhād K., and other Habshīs and Deccanīs, and there was an active movement of rebellion. The imperialists knit their hearts to God and drew up properly in battle array. In the centre were S. 'Abdu-r-rahmān, Mīr Hazār, Mīr Muḥammad Amin Maudūdī, Mīr 'Abdul Malik, Bijlī K., Yūsuf Jajhār, Saiyid 'Alī, and some *manṣabdārs*. In the van were Sher Khwāja, Bāz Bahādur, Zāhīru-d-dīn, Saiyid Lād M., Kocak 'Alī, Raḥīm Dād, Bābā Yūsuf 'Alī, Yāqūb Beg, Khwāja Bāqī K. Mīr Hāj, Ḥasan 'Alī Andijānī, and some able men. On the right wing were Ḥamīd K., Ḥaidar Dost, Muḥammad Ḥusain, Ghāzī K. Ghakkar, S. Quṭb, Adam K. On the left wing were Bahādur Almulk, Bahādur K. Gilānī, Muḥammad K. Turkamān, Saiyid Karm 'Alī, Rustum K. 'Arab, S'aīd K. 'Arab, Zāl Beg, Budāgh Beg, and others. They crossed the Ganges (i.e. the Godavery) near Nānder, and marched on. Near the river Mānjarā² the enemy arrived with a large force. 'Ambar³ Jīū was in the centre. On the right wing was Farhād K. Zangī, and on the left Manṣūr K. Habshī. On Sunday 6th Khurdād, 16th May 1601, after midday the fight began. There was a hot engagement. Owing to daily-increasing fortune a victory was won. High and low were astonished. The imperialists drew

¹ B. XXXV.

² I.G. XVIII. 355. On left or north bank of the Godāvarī and 174 m. from Hyderābad. It is famous as the place where Gurū Govind was

assassinated. The Manjarā is a tributary of the Godāvarī, and flows northwards.

³ This is Malik 'Ambar.

up their forces before the enemy did so. After much delay the latter came on with the impetuosity which is characteristic of the country. Many gave way, and some baggage was plundered. Those whose dependence was upon God stood firm. They were somewhat astonished at the enemy's coming back to the attack several times after being repulsed, and there occurred some confusion in the order of battle. At this time the centre advanced and distinguished itself. The enemy yielded and fled. 400 of them fell on the field, and many were wounded. Many elephants and other spoil were captured. By good fortune no person of note was killed. Rustūm K., Zāl Beg, Budāgh
792 K., Mīr 'Abdul-mulk, Mīr Hāj and Saiyid 'Alī were slightly wounded, but got better. Many horses, however, were killed. As little of day remained, they followed the enemy a short way and then returned, and offered up thanks. Though many of the royal servants did good service, yet Sher Khwāja, Bahādur-ul-mulk and Hāmīd K. did especially well. Though the enemy was more than 5,000, and the imperialists were 3,000, such a difficult work was made easy by the help of the Divine favour. On the 9th, when the royal standards (i.e. when Akbar was there) were at N'alca, Kīcak Khwāja died. He was one of the chosen servants of Prince Sultān Daniel, and led a dignified life. On the 10th, Rai Cand won a victory. When the soldiers of Pāthrī went to Telingāna, some wicked Nizām-ul-mulkīs went there (to Pāthrī) to make an attack. I gave¹ that choice servant of my own 100 of my own horse and sent him with the troops. He fought well and won a victory. At this time M. Khān came from Junair. On account of the high price of provisions, the soldiers were discontented. The proprietor of Hindīā came with Sarwar Habshī, Muḥammad K. Zangī and other evildoers, and made a disturbance. From want of energy, the high price of provisions, and emptyhandedness, he went on—fighting by the way—to Aḥmad-nagar. On the 11th he² arrived at that city and took his ease.

¹ The I.O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. say that Abul Fazl sent 300 of his own horse.

² This is the Khān-Khānan. Cf. B. XXIV. It is curious that this passage about M. Khān does not occur in either of the I.O. MSS. The pas-

sage occurs in the Lucknow ed. III. 854, but the name Junair is not clear there. The text however seems right for at p. 777 we are told that M. Khān took Junair. Apparently he resided there from 23rd Ābān 1009, i.e. from first week of November

At this time Badakhshān assumed the glory of the Shāhinshāh's name (*Khutba*). An unknown person gave himself out as Humāyūn, the son of M. Sulaimān, and took possession of that hill-country. M. Badā'u-z-Zamān, the sister's¹ son of H.M. and son of Khwājah Husain, came with a few men from Hiṣār, and fought with him on the 13th and was victorious. The pulpit and the gold and silver were adorned with the great name (of Akbar). He sent a petition apologising for the little service he had hitherto rendered. H.M. received the messenger kindly and sent presents and implements of war.

One of the occurrences was the fawning of the son of Shāh 'Alī. When H.M. was at Burhānpūr, he sent able men to court and spoke of submission. Those² who wished H.M. to march sold what had occurred at a high price and obtained a soothing *firmān*. They sent this off with Harbans. When the report of the march became current the ambassador stopped in bewilderment at Bīr. He did not go forward (?) and he did not communicate the answer. When the writer came to the bank of the Ganges (Godavery) and meditated going further he set himself to inquire into the matter, and summoned the ambassador. The latter told many untruths. Suddenly the Telingāna commotion, the capture of 'Alī Mardān Bāhādūr and of the son of

793 M. Yūsuf K., the report of the march of H.M.. and the departure of many men from the victorious army, became current, and that short-sighted and wicked man (Shāh 'Alī's son) again rebelled. He sent some vagabonds to the camp, and stirred up commotion. As the eye of my zeal was directed towards the True Disposer, I continually gathered the joy of victory. Suddenly the report of the defeat of the Telingāna rebels filled the world, and the wind (of pride) went

1600 to May 1601. Perhaps Hindīā bhūmī, pp. 777 and 792, means Hindīā, the proprietor, i.e. the Zamindar of Hindīā.

¹ Son of Akbar's half-sister, the daughter of Cūcak Begam.

² The sentence is very obscure, and perhaps the text is corrupt. Apparently what is meant is that those who wished Akbar to return to Agra set great store on the report

that they made to him of Shāh Alī's son's submission. If "bought" instead of "sold" could have been read, the meaning might have been clearer, and I.O. MS. 235 seems to say that Shāh 'Alī's son's ambassador sold the report to those who wished Akbar to start. The son of Shāh 'Alī had been made Nizām Shāh. He was the uncle of Martāza Nizām Shāh (B. 336).

out from the head of that presumptuous one. He had recourse to lamentation and excuses, and showed a fawning spirit. He received proper replies. He told the tale of his ashamedness, and sent back the envoy¹ with honour together with the son of M. Yūsuf K. On the 20th they came to the camp. Abū-l-ḥasan, Tīmā² his son (?), Wafā K., and his confidential servants delivered up the son of M. Yūsuf K. It was agreed that when they should bring 'Alī Mardān Bahādur and execute a treaty of service and ratify it by stringent oaths, Sarkār Uḍesa,³ Dhārwar and part of Bīr would be left to him. He was to undertake service, and never to rebel. On the 30th Rai Durgā and Rai Bhoj went to their homes without asking leave. Such improper proceedings were the result of the carelessness of the administrators and of the casting away of the thread of fears and hopes. On the 11th Tīr Hasan⁴ Beg died. He was in charge of Harsūl⁵ Daulatābād and led a good life. He was seized with severe abdominal pains and died. He was a Turk of the Bahārlū tribe. He was acquainted with history and could rhyme. On the 16th⁶ H.M. crossed the Cambal. As the river was in flood, and boats were

¹ Presumably this is Akbar's envoy Har Bans.

² This name is very doubtful. I.O. MS. 236 seems to have Tīmā Deo Rais.

³ Uḍesa or Orissa is clearly wrong. I.O. MS. 236 has Sarkārs Ugār and Owsa *او سا*. Ferishta mentions AUSA *اوسا* as a fort belonging to Malīk 'Ambar. Possibly what is meant is the fort of Odgir, but more probably it is Owsa.

⁴ The MSS. call him Ḥasan Beg Shukr 'Alī and so does the Iqbāl-nāma which also says that he was a relation of the Khān-khānān.

⁵ Text has *har sūi Daulatābād rā pāsbān būd*. This seems nonsense, and the I.O. MS. 236 has Harsūl. Harsūl is the name of a suburb of Aurangābād, and famous as the site of a great victory obtained by the

Moghuls over the Mahrattas in Aurangzeb's reign.

⁶ Faizī, p. 249b, last line, says, Akbar arrived at the Cambal on 10 Tīr, or 1st Moharrum 1010 = 22nd June, 1601. The river was fordable then and the emperor's peshkhānā (advance-tents) and a few men crossed. At night the flood came down and the river ceased to be fordable. There were only two small boats and these could only hold 10 or 15 men. The rain continued and the waters still rose. The people were greatly distressed by this obstacle so near their homes and when they had been so long away, and many flung themselves into the river and were drowned in trying to cross. The waters however subsided owing to the marvels of Akbar's presence, and to the wonder of the inhabitants.

very few, the camp suffered much. From the time H.M. had begun his homeward march, no such difficulty occurred. On the 22nd Jagannāth came in accordance with orders from Burhānpūr, and had an audience. On the 31st Sirāndāz K. was made kotwāl of Aḥmadābād and sent off. On 3rd Amardād H.M. went to the top of Rantanbhor, and Jagannāth obtained auspiciousness by scattering money, and by presenting *peshkash*. On this day Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram and Mihtar K. came from Agra to meet H.M. and had an audience. On the 4th H.M. crossed the Banās. On the 5th Jagannāth obtained leave. On the 6th Luṭfāi Shīrāzī died. He was acquainted with astronomy, old events, and poetical composition, and was known for his witticisms. On the 9th Taqiya obtained an audience. He was the *bakhshī* of the Cabul army. He came by the royal order and gathered bliss.

One of the occurrences was the cessation of Rājū's commotion. When Daulat K. was inopportunately turned back, he opened the hand of success, and took Nāsik and some other places. When Khwājagī 794 Faṭh Ullah went to that quarter and returned without effecting his object and when many soldiers deserted to Rājū, the latter became still more wild. At the time when the administrators of the country were indulging in the sleep of carelessness, and the writer was somewhat ill, that wicked one came by the route of Daulatābād, and seized the country up to Jālnāpūr.¹ Though he had been appointed to another duty, and was somewhat distant from the site of the disturbance, he in spite of his weakness undertook, trusting in God, to punish him. He set off on the 11th from the bank of the river, where he had built quarters near Ḥasanābād. He left Mīr Martazā, Wafādār K., Mīr Hazār and some other brave men there lest Shāh 'Alī's son should break his agreement, and raise up a commotion on that side. When he quickly came to Āhūbara, Rājū doubted the fact, but when he was convinced of it, he returned. He (the author) re-peopled Jālnāpur and the neighbourhood which were nearly deserted. On the 15th S. Khalīl was released. He was the son of S. Ibrāhīm

He crossed on an elephant on 14th Tīr. Farīd Bokhārī distinguished himself by his exertions to cross the people. The roads were terribly muddy, and there was rain and

lightning and some men and elephants were killed by the latter.

¹ Apparently this is the Jālnah of I.G. and which A. F. has previously called Gālnāh.

Fathpūrī. Though from his early years he was blind, he played chess and draughts well, and did many things that seeing people do. He desired to be made a collector of the exchequer lands, and his carnal desires resulted in his being sent to prison. The good services of his ancestors pleaded for him and the great kindness of the Shāhinshāh released him. On the 16th the writer came to Daulatābād. When news came that Rājū was in the vicinity I left my family in Āhūbara and went off to chastise him. He withdrew to the hills, and settled in a bewildered state near the tank of Qatlū. When the victorious troops came to the foot of the pass, he left Daulatābād and went off towards Nāsik. On the 22nd the writer traversed the passes and came near the tank. His idea was to come to close quarters with him and to punish him. The various opinions of his companions restrained him.

On the 23rd ¹ H.M. came to Fathpūr, and the venerable eyes of Miriam-Makānī rejoiced. That great lady wished to come further to meet him and to delight the eyes of her heart, but he restrained her from the idea. On the 24th the children of Wankū were seized. It has been mentioned that he had sought shelter in Aḥmadnagar from the oppression of the Bījāpūr soldiers. From the excess of his desires and wickedness he fled. When he thought that his own country was clear, he came there and set about working the leaven of rebellion. The same men came to take his life, and by hard endeavours he got back to near Aḥmadnagar, and set about fawning and begging for protection. The Khān-khānān accepted the proffers and sought to make his eagerness a means of capturing him. He out of farsightedness drew rein somewhat and sent his eldest son Bābājī ahead with his brother Dhār Rāo in order to ascertain his (the Khān-khānān's) intentions from the lines of his forehead, and to test his language. In this year and month when they came to the
795 fort of the city, the commander put them in chains, and sent many men to seize the landholder. He also followed them in person. Though from the sluggishness of some and bungling of others he

¹ Faizī says on 20th Amardād = 11th Ṣafr 1010, 1st August 1601. He remained there eleven days and then went on to Agra. On the way

he was entertained by Salīma Sultān Begam at the garden which Khwāja Ṣandal had laid out for her.

was not caught, yet 29 elephants and much property were taken. That wicked one went to the son of Shāh 'Alī, and the latter put him in prison. On this day Hāshim Beg came from the Deccan, and by a happy star he on the same day performed the *kornish*. On this day Mīr 'Abdu-l-Wahāb Bokhārī came from Delhi and Muḥammad Khūbānī from his fief, and had their desires gratified.

CHAPTER CXLIX.

THE ARRIVAL OF H.M. AT AGRA.

After passing Dīpālpūra,¹ six *kos* from Ujjain, he left the Sarangpūr route and proceeded towards Rantanbhor. He traversed 228½ *kos* in 48 marches, and made 60 halts. Loyal servants came continually, one after the other, and gathered auspiciousness, and had audiences. At Bīāna Qulīj K. and many other servants had their joy fulfilled. On the 31st, when it was a favourable hour, he made Agra, the capital, happy by his holy advent, and small and great had their wishes. On this day Zain K. Koka had an audience at Mandhākar. He had been in service at Tīrāh. When the ringleader of the Tārīkīs met with his deserts, and the commotion of Afghanistan subsided, he by the royal order took up his quarters at Lahore. On this occasion H.M. summoned him to his presence. Part of his *pes̤hkaśh* was a choice ruby. On 2nd Shahrīyūr Payinda² K. died. He was the son of Qutluq Qadam K., and had his share of courage and enlightenment.

When the writer delayed somewhat at Qutlu's tank, fear fell upon the Daulatābād garrison, and they thought that the firing of cannon would be a means of their deliverance. In that year and month they fired a great gun and two men lost their lives at once. To one fine fellow it happened that his abdomen was torn and his bowels came out. From fulness of courage he did not lose his fortitude and died at midnight. Next day Rājū received some

¹ I.J. II. 198. A.F. apparently repeats the account of Akbar's march. In the last chapter he speaks of Akbar's reaching Fat̤hpūr and now he brings him back to Rantanbhor.

² This is not the Payanda of B. 387 but the son of Qutluq mentioned at p. 432 *id.* B. and the Maas̤ir III. 52 gives the name as Asad K. An

Asad K. Turkamān is mentioned at A. N. III. 309. Possibly it was this Payanda who translated Bābar's Memoirs. The MSS. have various readings and the text seems corrupt. B.M. MS. Add. 26 207 seems to have "Three large cannon were fired."... That lion-hearted man did not give "way and died on 21st Shābān."

punishment. He was on the point of going to Nāsīk. Some double-faced men kept him back from doing so. He went by another road and passing Daulatābād, he plundered Satāra and some other places. In the morning the writer came down from the hills and went to attack him. As the country was hilly, it was impossible to march rapidly. As many said that he had turned back, the writer pitched his tent at Catwāra¹ (?). At the end of the day, when the men were engaged in the descent, Rājū appeared with a force. I reposed my **796** confidence in God and came out to fight, and though my troops were not drawn up in battle array, some active men engaged. Rai Gopāl displayed valour, and though the enemy was more than 5,000, and the imperialists about 3,000 and they too unarranged, victory showed her face, and great joy seized the world. As day had become night, no pursuit was made. On the 8th Rājū again came to fight, and this suppliant to God also came forward. The active men of the van, viz. I'tibār K., 'Aādil K., Rai Gopāl fought, and he according to his practice made war consist in flight. M. Zāhid, M. Nāṣir, Mīr Gadāi came from the right wing and fought. Rājū's horse stumbled and he fell. Some well-wishers caught the horse; and with great difficulty he escaped. Kajkana and some brave men of the right wing put their hands to the work. They fought for three *kos* up to Daulatābād. The garrison then came to Rājū's help. The victorious warriors were nearly being defeated. But the writer came up, and the enemy was dispersed. As the day was at an end we returned and halted for a little. Again the wicked poured in from every side, and though there was no arrangement (*tūzuk*), there was a great fight. Several of the enemy were killed, and some were captured, and victory showed her face. I engaged in returning thanks to God. After that Rājū could not show himself for some time. He spent his days in bewilderment under the protection of the fort of Daulatābād. On the 15th he came with a large host, but was put to flight after a short contest.

One of the occurrences was the commotion of Telingāna. When S. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān gained his victory, he returned after leaving on guard Hamīd K., Bāz Bahādur, Bahādur-al-Mulk and other brave men. Inasmuch as the slumber of neglect had seized the administra-

¹ Called Katak Catwārā in Maasir III. 615.

tors, and the writer was somewhat far away, 'Ambar Jīo fell upon the country of Barīd, and though the soldiers of that country had little assistance, yet in the pride of courage they stood firm. In this year and month a battle took place on the bank of the Mānjana. The imperialists were nearly victorious, but by heaven's decree they were defeated. Bahādur-al-Mulk with difficulty crossed the river and obtained protection. Ḥamīd K. and Bāz Bahādur were caught. The fertile land of Telingāna went out of hand once more. The wicked disturbed places which had been quieted.

On the 22nd (Shahrīyūr, 1st September, 1601) Tulsī¹ Dās came from his house and had an audience. On 6th Mihr Zain K. Koka **797** died. Success led² him into drinking. When he was summoned to court, he gave this up somewhat and fell ill. His heart and eyes failed. Apparently³ there had been a rift in the joints of his service and so fortune prepared for a day of retribution. H.M. protected his honour and showed kindness to his survivors. He gave his son an office of 700.

One of the occurrences was the disgrace of Rājū. On the 14th that wicked man again prepared to fight, and fled after a short engagement. On the 16th he with some bands approached the camp. In order that the troops might be drawn up in battle-array they withdrew into the protection of a small hill. Some retreated and went off rapidly to Daulatābād. It was reported that Rājū was advancing. I went there myself and appointed troops to chastise the others. Many fought and were defeated, and some returned without having come to close quarters. Some active men of the writer fell on the enemy and came to the city, and returned victorious. At the end of the day I returned to the camp. In the middle of the way it was reported that Rājū and some others had gone off to plunder (?) (the camp). Maḥasan, the son of Ghāzī K., who was coming to the camp, fought and was made prisoner. Now advance was being made

¹ This does not seem to be the poet, but the Tulsī Dās mentioned at pp. 424 and 437. B. 502. He was a Jādūn.

² The text omits the preposition before *maīgusārī*.

³ The Maasir II. 369 says Akbar

was displeased with him because he had sent many horses from Kabul to Selīm who was in rebellion in Allahabad. Akbar also cherished a dislike of him on account of his having been accessory to the defeat and death of Bīrbar.

to Daulatābād by the skirt of the hill, and I was obliged to go there. M. 'Alī Beg Akbar Shāhī, Qāsim Khawāja, M. Zāhid, Tāsh Beg, Rai Gopāl displayed activity. They fought and came to Daulatābād. They were nearly taking it. Rājū craftily threw himself into the moat, but his goods and chattels were plundered. Nearly 500 horses and much property were taken. A wonderful thing was that in that rain of cannon-balls no injury was done to the imperialists. When I approached, they fired a great cannon which carried balls (*tīr*) of ten *mans* weight. The same moment, it burst, and by the concussion part of the wall of the fort fell down. The garrison cried out for quarter. As the day was near at an end, and from caution, I returned to the camp. That base one, after his punishment, remained under the protection of the fort and spent his days in straitened circumstances. Numerous persons left him. He fell into fear. If the administrators of the country had been energetic, that thorn bush would have been rooted out. On the 21st the writer went to the Khān-khānān. When 'Ambar Jīo took possession of Telingāna, and showed a disposition to advance, the son of Shāh 'Alī sent Farhād K. and a number of others against Sher Khawāja. The Khān-khānān came out of Aḥmadnagar and having crossed the Ganges came to Jāīgīr¹ (?). He repeatedly wrote to me and asked me for help. As he had excused himself for not looking after the administration, for staying long in Aḥmadnagar and for not sending assistance, I accepted his apologies and proceeded towards him. I left M. 'Alī Beg, Akbar Shāhī, the Saiyids of Bārha, the sons of Ḥasan K. Miyāna,² the brothers of Jānish Bahādur and others to guard against Rājū. 798 By the jugglery of the heavens, the capture of Rājū, who was at his last gasp, was delayed. On the 30th (Mīhr), October 1601, Mīr Murād Juwainī³ Cūlī died. He had been left in Lahore as bakhshī of the Panjāb forces. He died of fever. On 6th Ābān the solar weighing took place, and H.M. was weighed in the dwelling of Miriam-Makānī against twelve articles. There was a wide field for enjoyment, and the needy gained their desires. On the 9th Rajah Rāj Singh came from Gwaliyār and did homage. On this day S. Ḥusain

¹ I.O. MS. 236 seems to have Jām-gīr and N. 235 seems to have Khām-garah.

² B. 506,

³ Text Chūlī, but the variant Juwainī is to be preferred. See Blochmann 498.

was sent to take charge of the bounteous tomb of Khwāja M'ūīnu-d-dīn—may his grave be hallowed! He was regarded as descended from his daughter. On account of improprieties he was for some time placed in the school of the prison, and for a time he trod the desert of misfortune. At this time he received favours and was sent to his old home. He was appointed to look after the recluses at the tomb and to arrange for the distribution of food. On the 11th Rai Rai Singh came to court and was treated with favour. He had been appointed to the army of the Deccan along with the writer. When news came that his son Dalpat had gone to his home and was behaving oppressively, he took leave in order to remedy matters. That turbulent one awoke somewhat from his somnolence, and showed a desire that H.M. would recall his father to court, and asked that an order of forgiveness might relieve him from fear so that he might hasten to court. His request was granted and he was summoned, and that presumptuous one acted according to his words, and emerged from eternal ruin! On the 16th Qulīj K. obtained leave to go to the Panjāb. As there was no great officer there, this chosen servant was appointed there. It had been proposed that the government of Kabul should be entrusted to Shāh¹ Qulī K. Maḥram. He (Qulīj K.) asked for the charge of both places (the Panjāb and Kabul), and this was granted, and an order issued. In this year and month Khwājagī Fath Ullah returned without having effected his object. When he came back from Nāsik, re infectâ, the Prince sent him there again. S'aādat K., Fūlād K., Malik Sher, Saiyid 'Alī, Saiyid Jalāl and other fiefholders of Dāndesh and Nadarbār were sent with him. The soldiers were collected with delay. When he came to Bābil, Rājū came out to fight, and they could not stand their ground. They fought and retired to the fort of Sūngar. He invested it for a short time. Then he left it and opened the hand of plunder. In Pāthri he laid hold of the family of S'aādat K., and got a large amount of property. His strength having been increased, he returned to attack the fort. At this time there was a loud report that 'Aẓmat K. was coming with some soldiers of Baharjī (of Baglāna). 799 'Inayat Ullah came with some men from Burhānpūr. People also spoke about the writer's returning to that quarter so he (Rājū) was obliged to leave the fort and to proceed towards Daulatō

¹ He died in this year.

bād. He took Gālnah (Jālnah). Khwajagī Fath Ullah had made it over to Y‘aqūb Beg Shighālī, and S‘aīd Beg Badakhshī. When he was besieged (in Sūngar), he applied to them for help. The agents of these two basely and avariciously took 2,000 *hūns* and delivered up that choice fortress.

One of the occurrences was that Farhād K. made a night attack and had to retire unsuccessful. Sher Khwāja, M. Yūsuf, M. Kocak ‘Alī, Y‘aqūb Beg, Muḥammad K., Burhān-al-Mulk, Abu-l-ḥasan and many other servants were assembled in Pāthrī (?). When the writer joined the Khān-khānān at Parnūr,¹ and the soldiers were very busy. The mad Abyssinian who was facing Sher Khwāja with a number of wicked men, formed long schemes. He did not think that he had the strength to fight by day, but on the night of the 18th he attacked and fought hard but had to retire. On the night of the 20th Ḥusain Qulīj K. was married to the daughter of Āṣaf K. Two lakhs and 50,000 *dāms* were bestowed for the marriage-celebrations. On the 29th H.M. embarked on a boat and gave glory to the house of Zain K.’s sister, and brought her out of her sorrow by cordial words. On 12th Āzar the daughter of Rām Dās was married to Siyām Singh. H.M. went to the ante-chamber (*peṣhkhāna*) of the bride’s father and bestowed favours, and presented five lakhs of *dāms* for the marriage celebrations. On the 18th Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram died of diarrhoea. He had an abundant share of courage and honesty, and kept a youthful heart in old age. He was continually on horseback and enjoying the pleasures of the chase. H.M. soothed the survivors by princely favours. On the 21st Amba Cokā was taken. The writer wished to go with a number of active men from Parnūr to punish Farhād K. The evil thoughts of some of his companions prevented him. When the soldiers after long delay crossed the Ganges, there was a severe engagement between them and that Abyssinian. He (the writer) left Bareli, traversed the hills and sate down at Amba² Cokā, which has a choice fort. That fertile country came into possession. On this day Sālbāhan came from court. He brought a special shawl³ (*parm*) and good news of H.M. This good news encouraged me, and increased my energy. Many of my companions from

¹ Apparently Parner 20 m. S.W. Aḥmadābād.

² Apparently the Ambād of the I.G., in the Haidarābād territory.

³ B. 90 I.O. 236 has *parm narm*.

shortness of thought did not wish to advance. By great efforts a
800 forward movement was made. On the right wing were M. Zāhid, Mīr
 Gadāī and some other brave men. On the left wing were Bahādur-
 al-Mulk, Kackana, and some others. In the van were Sher Khwājā,
 with a party of noted men. When we had emerged from the passes,
 the advance-guard of the enemy, who were more than 4,000, dis-
 persed after a short engagement. Although, on account of the
 approach of night no pursuit was made, yet the fort was taken and
 that populous city plundered. The soldiers got abundant booty.
 The same night, news came that the son of Shāh 'Alī who had
 thought that the fort of Dhārwar would be his protection, and who
 had collected an army, had entered the hill-country of Ousa. My
 idea was that next day I would punish that bewildered one. Owing
 to the duplicity of some persons this did not occur. In a short time
 the rear force came up, but the son of Shāh 'Alī, who had been
 presumptuous, became submissive, and sent apologetic letters. At
 this time Hamīd K. and his son Yūsuf arrived. After the defeat in
 Telingānah, he by great efforts got out and by ability collected some
 men. He (Yūsuf?) fought many engagements with the rebels there,
 and from want of strength he joined the victorious troops with 150
 men. When his father was made prisoner, the son of Shāh 'Alī in-
 vited him to join him, but he from a happy star declined. Shāh
'Alī's son kept him under surveillance. At night he came out on foot.
 On the 26th by the guidance of the landholder he joined the army.
 By much questioning¹ (?) he gained his end. On the 28th M. Yūsuf
K. died. When disturbances rose up on every side the Prince sent
 M. Rustum, M. Yūsuf and some others to render assistance. When
 they came to Jālnāpūr that good servant died of a tumour (*dard-i-*
dambal). On 9th Dai the festival of the lunar weighment was cele-
 brated, and H.M. was weighed in the house of Miriam-Makānī
 against eight articles. There was a daily market of liberality, and
 high and low obtained their desires.

One of the occurrences was that the victorious troops returned
 after having made a peace. Some by love of sedition, some by
 shortness of thought and some by simplicity were led into the sleep
 of neglect by the artifices of the son of Shāh 'Alī. When they

¹ *Parsish*. Perhaps here means "trouble."

came to the bank of the Mānjara, that plotter increased his entreaties. The death of M. Yūsuf K. and the disturbance of Rājū and the Fārūqī¹ youth (?) increased their wishes. The administrators of the country had seized the fief of one Qāsim—whose father had fallen in good service. Owing to the pains of ill-success he joined Rājū. He gave him a body of men and sent him to the country² of Dāndes, and followed after himself. They were compelled to agree to a peace on the terms that Bāz Bahādur, ‘Alī Mardān Bahādur and Hazāra Beg should be released, and that he (Shāh ‘Alī’s son) should not withdraw from obedience, and that some territory should be left 801 to him. On the 11th he brought, at the distance of five *kos* from the camp, I’tibar al-mulk, the brother of Tanīg³ Rāo, and some others. Mīr Murtazā came from this (the imperial) side and received the document of the treaty and gave a *firmān* of security.

On this day Bhagwān Dās Mastaufī died in Agra. He was very clever among the accountants (*batakciān*.)

Next day the imperialists returned. When they came to Rāmpūrī, the taking of Telingāna and the guarding of that country were made over to Mīr Martazā. Bahādur-al-Mulk, Rustum ‘Arab, Shams⁴her ‘Arab, S‘aīd ‘Arab, Burhān-ul-Mulk and others were sent with him and obtained *jāgīrs*. On the 18th the Mīr took his leave, and it was arranged that the Khān-khānān should take up his quarters at Parnūr⁴ to encourage the soldiers of Pāthrī and Telingāna. The writer went back to punish Rājū. M. Rustum, Rajah Sūraj Singh and Muqīm K. with the brothers of Rajah Bikramājīt and others were appointed to help him. M. ‘Alī Beg, the Saiyids of Bārha, the brothers of Jānish Bahādur and ‘Aādil K. with his brethren and some others who were in Jālnāpūr were also appointed to accompany him. Some money and horses were also spoken⁵ of (?). On the 19th

¹ Apparently by the phrase Fārūqī *pisar* is meant Bahādur K. Fārūqī, the young king of Khāndes who had surrendered Āsīgarh.

² *Gird.* I.O. MS. 236 has *bagazand* “to injure.”

³ I.O. MS. 236 seems to have Patang. The Iqbāl-nāma refers to this treaty and says that it is plain

from the Akbarnāma that A. F. disapproved of it. It adds that the eighteen years which have passed since prove that his opinion was right.

⁴ There is a Bānora, variant Pānora, in Sarkār Telingāna. J. II. 237.

⁵ *Nām bardand.* I.O. MS. 236 has *yām bardand*, post-horses?

he went off. On the 29th Lāla took leave to return into private life. He was the eldest son of Rajah Bīr Bar. From violent passions and self-will he was extravagant, and formed wide desires. Failure led him further astray, and he got this idea (of retiring) into his head. H.M. regarded this severance¹ as the remedy for his bewilderment.

On 2nd Bahman the writer came to Burhānpūr, and had the good fortune to pay his respects to the Prince. When he came to Jālnāpūr on the expedition against Rājū, envious people fell into evil thoughts. By pretexts they took the fiefs from the auxiliaries and baulked their energy. I left the camp and proceeded there quickly, thinking that I might get leave from the Prince and go to court, and be somewhat rid of the trouble of envy. At this time Mīr Martazā Qulī came from court, and conveyed princely favours. Among them were two special horses, one for the writer, and the other for his son, 'Abdu-r-raḥmān. At the end of the day twenty more horses came. At this succession of favours my withered heart bloomed again.

On the 8th it came to H.M.'s notice that some avaricious persons did not abstain from levying dues. He committed the charge of the empire to some well-intentioned and moderate persons. Agra he entrusted to Āṣaf K., the routes to the Deccan and Mālwa to Rām Dās, the Gujrāt routes to Kalyān Dās, the Lahore routes to S. Farīd bakhshī. The disturbance of cupidity was diminished somewhat, and there were meetings to return thanks. On the 12th Dalpat, the son of Rai Rai Singh came to court. His apologies were accepted and he was forgiven. On the 13th the daughter of M. Koka was married to S'aad Ullah, the son of S'aīd K., and there was rejoicing. On the 24th a son was born in the harem of the Prince (Daniel) by the daughter of the Khān-khānān. He soon went to the other world. On the 25th S. Mūsā² Qādirī was killed. Maḥmūd Langāh with the son of Nāhir K. fell upon him in the town of Ūch in Multān, and that brave man fell fighting. He was one of the learned men who loved a monastic life and became an Amīr by his devotion to H.M. On this day Muḥammad K., the son of Daulat K., took a strange madness into his head. He by his own efforts brought him-

¹ B. 405. The Iqbāl-nāma says he ostensibly left in order to retire from the world, but in reality he went to Allahabad and entered the service of

Prince Selīm. He was a commander of 200.

² B. 544. Younger brother of 'Abdūl Qādir.

self to death. He became bewildered by the heats of youth, and desires, and even became mad. By treatment he became better. At this time he came out to hunt, and at the end of the day got separated from his companions. In the town of Pāl¹ he got into an engagement with the Kolīs, and fought and was killed.

On 1st Isfandārmaz (about 15th February, 1602) the writer was sent to Nāsik. When he waited upon the Prince (Daniel) and brought forward his wishes, they were not accepted and he desired me to chastise Rājū. I replied that I would not depart from orders, but that the jewel of the diadem of the Caliphate did not apply himself to the work of administration, and that he left this to some avaricious, shortsighted people. How could work go on in this turmoil of carelessness and envy? He understood this somewhat, and undertook to work himself. He gave a horse and a *khilāt* and sent me off there. At the first stage he honoured me by coming. He presented me with a special dagger, and a noted elephant. On the night of the 4th an inner² servant (of Akbar) died. He managed the treasury well, and H.M. had much confidence in him. On the 14th Gangādhara had an audience. He had been sent to give counsels to Sar Jeo, the zamīndār of Cāndā.³ He received them and sent him back with 14 elephants. On the 25th Bahādur⁴ K. came and did homage. On account of his refractoriness and the intrigues which he practised in the delivering up of Āsīr he was for a time placed in the fort of Gwālīyār. The great kindness of H.M. soon recalled him.

NOTE.

The 46th was the last year of which A. F. wrote an account. He was killed in the 47th year on 4th Rabi' I. 1011 A.H., 12th August 1602. That year began on 26th Ramzān 1010, 11th March 1602, and so he was killed five months after it had begun. The Bib. Ind. ed. continues the history to the end of Akbar's

¹ Text Māl, var. Tāl. Maasir II. 8 has Pāl and so has B. 503. There is a Pāl in Kathīwar. I.O. MS. 236 has Pāl.

² Darūnī. But there is a town in Persia called Darūn or Andarūn, and perhaps Darūnī is a man's name, meaning that he was an inhabitant of that town.

³ In the Central Provinces.

⁴ This is Bahādur Fārūqī. He was also called *Khizr* K. He died in Jahangīr's reign. Du Jarric calls him Miram and Miran. Ferishta (lith. ed.) says that Bahādur was taken to Lahore by Akbar and that he had a pension and died a natural death in Agra in 1033 (1624).

reign and there is no note to the text to indicate when A. F.'s writing ends, and Muḥibb 'Alī's begins. But a sentence at the end of the editor's preface to the third volume states that A. F. wrote the history to the end of the 46th year, and that the continuation is the work of Muḥibb 'Alī K. Chalmers, and Elphinstone after him, give the name of the continuator as 'Inayat Ullah or Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. Blochmann XXX says that in two MSS. which he has seen, the name of the continuator is given as 'Inayat Ullah Muḥibb 'Alī. At the end of Chalmers' translation the continuator is called 'Inayat Ullah or Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. See Elliot VI. 115.

The two I.O. MSS. Nos. 235 and 236 and the B.M. MS. Add. 26, 207 (Rieu I. 251) give, in addition to the 46th year, the heading of the 47th, some poetry and a long *khāṭima*, or conclusion. This conclusion is also found in the 3rd book of the *Inshā*, ed. Newal Kishore, p. 223, and is presumably genuine. Abul Fazl appears to have written it because the 46th year completed or nearly completed the second *qaran*, or cycle, of thirty years, reckoning from Akbar's birth. As a fact, the cycle did not finish till about the middle of the 47th year. The conclusion appears in a very abridged form at the end of the Lucknow edition and at p. 843 of the Bib. Ind. ed. It is as follows:

CONCLUSION.

Verse.

In the name of God! Hail, acute intelligence:
In that thou hast given a new ending to words,
The pen has at once rested from movement
For the second¹ volume has been completed.

Inasmuch as intellect assisted, and there was true devotion, wakeful fortune, and help of auspiciousness some thing of the events of the second cycle, which is conjoined with eternal dominion, has been written down. By the help of the glorious authors (the Fates) my energy has been in some measure lightened of its burden.

¹ Text "third" but it is "second" in the I.O. MSS. and in the *Inshā*, and this is right. The historical part of the *Akbarnāma* is considered by A. F. to consist of two volumes—at least till the end of the 46th year or end of the second* *qaran*. The third volume is the *Ain*. But he also had another division in his mind. He believed, or affected to believe, that Akbar would live 120 years, i.e. four *qarans*, see J. III. 416, and that he too might live to write the account of four cycles. In all he would write

five books. In the verse he congratulates himself on having finished one half of his task, i.e. two *qarans*, and promises that if life be granted to him he will write the account of the other two cycles.

* The second *qaran* apparently did not end till about the middle of the 47th year! Akbar was born in October 1542 and so the sixty years of his life did not expire till October 1602. By that time Abul Fazl was dead.

Verse.

When a brilliant half was completed
 Half the world came into my hands.
 If life be granted for the other half
 I'll write it in such an instructed manner
 That readers will be aroused from sleep
 And that the fishes will dance in the water.

I shed many drops of sweat¹ from my intellect's brow into the skirt of hope in order that half a drop of the river of enlightenment might refresh me! How the heart-fumes rose up in order that the ears might so far be enlightened! May it confer a great name by being accepted of hearts! May I be made an eternal entertainer! **844**

Verse.

From my life I gave it flight
 May God give it a place among lives.

Hail the noble work of disposition, and the wonders of the pen! He who is bound in humanity's prison takes his flight towards the sky, and in the artificiality of the market-place of affairs he shows a desire for the holy hour of joy. The exchanging of the coin of celestials is performed in the assay-place of mortals, and Divine secrets adorn the stations of service. The strains of detachment are sung amid the troubles of association.

Verse.

Our eyes are opened to the spectacle of truth.
 Primal reason fears the standard of our audacity.
 I lower my head and look into the fold of the two worlds,
 Mayhap Love has fashioned our robe of the woof of vision.

I² hope that the thread of the description of events will not be broken and that from time to time the office of thanksgiving will acquire new lustre, and that many wondrous events will be handled by the truthful pen—whose slit is the dawning of the heart, and that a treasure-chest of auspiciousness has been filled and will be a present to future students, and that connoisseurs of jewels will have joy.

Verse.

Verily, while on this earth there is the beauty of order
 May there be from spirituality a lofty name to words.

¹ Text wrongly has *jūihā* instead of *khūihā*.

² The Lucknow ed. has a sentence before this, and it occurs also in the I.O. MSS. It is, "The crooked, carnal,

chameleon-like spirit has sought out a remedy and addressed itself to the work and has prepared itself anew for this great task.

May the order of speech be in accordance with Thy words
May the ornament of spirituality be in Thy name.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ABOUT THE NAME OF THE AUTHOR OF THE SUPPLEMENT TO
THE AKBARNĀMA.

In the preface to the 3rd vol. of the Akbarnāma, p. 3, the editors say that the author was Muḥibb 'Alī Khān. The B.M. has three copies of the continuation, viz. Nos. Or. 1854, 1858, and 3271. All three correspond with the continuation given in the Bib. Ind. (Rieu. III, 929 and 1031 and Supplement, p. 52). The India Office has two copies, Nos. 260 and 261 of Ethī. The Bodleian has two copies, see Nos. 200 and 208 of Cat. In the account of No. 200 a reference is made to Aumer's Cat. of the Munich MSS., p. 90, Aumer states that the continuation was written in the time of Shāh Jahān as the preface contains the praises of that monarch. In the prefaces as contained in I.O. MSS. 260, 261 I do not find any clear indication that the reigning sovereign was Shāh Jahān. The phrase Ṣāhib Qirānī is used, but it has not the addition of the word Ṣānī, and the whole phrase is "Lamp of the family of Ṣahib Qirān." Here Ṣāhib Qirān means Timūr and the phrase is applicable to any of his descendants. But it is clear from the disparaging way in which Jahāngīr is spoken of that the continuation was not written in his reign. It is also clear that the continuation is a copy, and often a verbal copy of the Iqbāl-nāma of M'utamid K. The latter wrote, as he tells us in his preface, in 1029, 1620, which, as Gladwin remarks, is only fifteen years after Akbar's death. In one place M'utamid in treating of the death of Prince Daniel speaks of his widow, Jānāra Begam, as still alive. In the continuation in the Bib. Ind. ed., p. 838, she is mentioned as having died. This shows that the continuation was at least written after 1029, but apart from this, it is clear that the continuator could never have written of Jahāngīr as he has done during his lifetime, nor could it be Jahāngīr who ordered him to write. In all probability the Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ of Chalmers is identical with the Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū who wrote the 'Amal Ṣāliḥ which is sometimes called the Shāhjahān-nāma. See Rieu. Cat. I. 263. His work was finished in 1070, 1660, or a year after Aurangzeb had begun to reign in fact, though while Shāhjahān was still alive. In the preface in the I.O. copy of the 'Amal Ṣāliḥ No. 332 of Ethé, the author calls himself Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and adds that he is commonly known as Kamāl Hamadānī. In the colophon of the 2nd vol. of 332 he is called Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū. The circumstance that the author of the continuation is sometimes called 'Ināyat Ullah and sometimes Muḥibb 'Alī may be due to the fact that there are more than one continuation. The continuation as given by Chalmers differs considerably from that in the Bib. Ind. ed. and the continuation in Nos. 260 and 261 of the I.O. differs from both of them. But evidently all the continuations are more or less reproductions of the Iqbāl-nāma. The Bib. Ind. continuation differs chiefly from the Iqbāl-nāma in being shorter in places and in the different view that it takes of the characters

of A. F. and Prince Salīm. Possibly the name 'Inayat Ullah may be accounted for by the fact that Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ had an elder brother named 'Inayatullah who was also a historian. See Rieu. l.c. Perhaps he was the author of the continuation, or of one of them. See Rieu's description of the three MSS. of the continuation.

CHAPTER CL.

BEGINNING OF THE 47TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION TO WIT THE
YEAR BAHMAN OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

On the night of Thursday, 26th Ramzān, 1010, 11th March 1602,
803 after 8 hours 42 minutes, the fountain of light passed to Aries, and
the eleventh year of the fourth cycle brought glory.

Verse.

The New Year came and grief left the world ;
The dew on the leaves was like pearls in the shell ;
The Shāh on the throne of glory granted abundance ;
Behold : the Sun is in the house of exaltation.

In accordance with H.M.'s orders, the palace of fortune became rose-coloured, and exhibited an entrancing spectacle. From New Year's day up to the day when the Sultān of the East (the sun) arrived at his culmination, there was a time of liberality and a daily market of gifts and pardons. The Eyes of the State and the Pillars of empire were distinguished by princely favours. Abundant offerings and scatterings were made by the grandees. During the august festival S. Abū-l-faẓl was presented with a swift, special horse which was made over to Abū l-khair (his brother) to be delivered to him.

One of the occurrences was the appointment of a number of imperial servants for the chastisement of the rulers of Mau¹ and Jammū. News came that Bāsū the ruler of Mau had, out of evil thoughts, attacked the borders of Pathān, and had sorely troubled the husbandmen thereof, and had by violence carried off some to his own territory. Tāj K. desired to go and punish him. The zamīndār of Jammū also made long the hand of oppression against the villages of the parganas Moẓaffarwāl² and Bahlūlpūr. Husain Beg

¹ In the Bārī Doāb, J. II. 319.

² Zafarwāl in I.O. 260. It is the Patī Zafarwāl of J. II, 320 and was

in the Rechnau Doāb. Bahlūlpūr was in the Chanpat Doāb, J. II. 322.

S. 'Umarī—who held these two places in fief—prepared in Rohtās the means of punishing him and went off in that direction. On this account an order was given to Qulīj K., the governor of the Panjab, to send Ḥasan Qulīj, his son, with a body of troops to put down the disturbance, and *sazāwals* were sent from the court to cause Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī, Tāj K. Aḥmad Beg and other servants of the province to join Ḥasan Qulīj. Khwāja Sulaimān was made Bakhshī of the force.

The following matters occurred in Tūrān. When 'Abdullah K. died, and his son 'Abdūl Mūmīn's days also came to an end, Shāh 'Abbās, the ruler of Persia, who was always on the watch for an opportunity, set out on an expedition to Khurāsān. Hāshim¹ K., Bāqī K., and Payinda Muḥammad K., the sister's sons of 'Abdullah K., engaged with him in battle. The Shāh prevailed over the country, Hāshim K. lost his life in the fight and the other two fled, defeated, from Khurāsān. Payinda K. came by the jugglery of fate to Qan- **804** dahār and was there seized by the servant of Shāh Muḥammad K. The end of his affairs will be related in its place. Bāqī K. went to Tūrān. As that country had no ruler, and except him there was no one who could fill the post, he became Khān. After some time he led a force against Tāshkend. As Qalandar K., the ruler there, did not see in himself the power to contend, he had recourse to submission. Bāqī K. made him his subject and took possession of Samarkand and Bokhārā. He gave Badakhshān to his brother, Walī Muḥammad K. Shāh 'Abbās after taking Khurāsān, spent some time in enjoyment in Herat and then returned to Ispahan. In the second year he set out with a large army to take Balkh and encamped near that city. Bāqī K., whose power was not yet fully established, considered that his best plan was not to engage in a pitched battle, so he set down his tents opposite the Shāh's camp and dug a trench round them and waited. When much time had been spent, the Qizilbāsh grandees were troubled by the delay and inevitable privations and

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma has Totam K., and the notice at p. 817 of the Bib. Ind. Akbarnāma shows that Tatam Sultān is more correct, but the real name was Yātim Sultān which was another name for Dīn Muḥammad. The Turān news here given is stale,

for the battle in which Dīn Muḥammad lost his life took place in the beginning of 1007 (1598). See 'Ālam Ārāī. Of course, Abul Faẓl is not responsible for the paragraph. Probably Hāshim is only a copyist's error, for at p. 817 we have Tatam.

by the dying of their animals. The Shāh therefore gave up his design and returned to Khurāsān.

At this time Prince Sultān Daniel petitioned that the Rai Rayān might be appointed to the Deccan, and that an army should be sent to punish the zamīndārs of Garha. This was granted, and an order was issued to the Rai Rayān that he should, in the first place, proceed to the country of Garha—which was in his fief—and arrange for its administration. Afterwards he was to go to the Prince. Also, at this time Shādmān and ‘Abdullah, the sons of the Khān Ā’zim, were each raised to the rank of 1,000. After some time, Anwar, another son of the said Khān and who was older than the other two, was raised to the same rank. As he was addicted to wine, and was of indolent habits, and had shown self-will in the service of H.M., this was his punishment. Ten horses which were presented to the Khān-khānān were made over to his agent, and forty horses were entrusted to ¹ Khawāja Latīf, that he might convey them to Prince Daniel. The sons of M. Yūsuf K. and Raḥīm ² Qulī and the son of Khān Jahān came from their fiefs and paid their respects.

One of the occurrences was the brave death of Jāmil Beg, the son of Tāj K. Tāj K., after collecting auxiliaries, set himself to the chastisement of Bāsū, the ruler of Mau. When he came ³ to the pargana of Pathān he did not halt, but went forward. He chose an encampment in a place, of which he approved. At the time of
805 marching, the enemy appeared, and Jamil Beg became ardent. Without delay he fell upon the foe with a few of his men. At first

¹ To Khawāja ‘Abdullah and Khawāja ‘Abdu-l-latīf (Iqbāl-nāma).

² Son of Khān Jahān (Iqbāl-nāma).

³ Tāj K. is the Tāsh Beg K. Moghul of A. F., B. 457 and of the Maasir I. 482. Apparently a negative has dropt out of the text and we should read *napardākhta* instead of *pardākhta*, for the M’aasir says that Tāj K. went on to Pathān, i.e. Pathānkot, B. 616, without waiting for his auxiliaries. However, the Iqbāl-nāma also omits the negative. The text speaks of the enemy appear-

ing at the time of marching, *hang-ām-i-koc*, but the M’aasir says it occurred at the time of pitching the tents, *khaima zadan*, and it is so described in the continuation in I.O. MS. 260 and in Chalmers and the Iqbāl-nāma. The word *koc* has been improperly used by the continuator. Immediately before he speaks of Tāj K.’s selecting a camping-ground. There is a notice of Tāsh K. Beg in Price’s Jahangīr, p. 41. See also Tūzuk J. 13, where he is called Furjī, i.e. from Furj or Furg in Persia.

he was victorious, and killed the leaders of the enemy. Then he encountered two other forces, which came from the right and left, and after exhibiting much valour and standing firm, he bravely quaffed the last draught. Fifty men accompanied him to the other world.

Razā Qulī, the son of the Khān Jahān, received a *manṣab* of 500 with 100¹ horse, Islām Qulī K., the brother of Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, one of 500 with 150 horse, while Muḥammad Qulī Turkamān's rank was increased by the gift of an elephant. Zāhid Beg, the son of Sādiq K., came from the Deccan and was exalted by performing the *kornish*. 'Allāmī S. Abu-l-Faḥl received the rank of 5,000, and was made by the appreciative sovereign the recipient of favours suitable to his services and loyalty. It appeared from a petition by Prince Sultān Daniel that the son of Shāh 'Alī was preparing to make a commotion in the district of Aḥmadnagar, and that 'Ambar Jeo had proceeded two or three months before to the territory of Bīdar.² Malik Barīd, the ruler of that country, sent one named Ibrāhīm to put him down. He fought a severe battle³ with 'Ambar, and fell bravely. Fourteen elephants and other materials of greatness fell into the hands of 'Ambar, and these added to his arrogance. From there he went to Nūbilās (?) and had a hot engagement with Quṭbu-l-Mulk's people. He was victorious and obtained nine and twenty elephants. Then he proceeded to Telingāna. As Mīr Martazā had not the strength to oppose him, he entered a fort,⁴ and that evil-minded one took possession of some of the estates and sent a body of men to the other parganas of Berar. Malik Barīd thought his remedy lay in supplication and flattery and sent him a sum of money, and made peace. The immoderation of the wicked had come to such a pass that he would soon unite with the son of Shāh 'Alī and both of them would throw the dust of sedition on their heads. On receipt of this news it was determined⁵ that 'Allāmī S. Abu-l-faḥl should be

¹ 300 (Iqbāl-nāma),

² Text Berār, but the variant Bīdar is supported by the Iqbāl-nāma.

³ "Near Bīdar" (Iqbāl-nāma).

⁴ Fort of Pāthrī (Iqbāl-nāma).

⁵ The Iqbāl-nāma says that two provinces were formed. The Khān-khān-

ān was to have Berār, Pāthrī, Telingāna, and the duty of suppressing Shāh 'Alī's son, and A. F. was to have charge of Aḥmadnagar and the duty of putting down Rājū and the other rebels. Apparently these were the arrangements reported by P. Daniel

sent with a large force to Jālnāpūr, and that the Aḥmadnagar service and the punishment of Rājū and other rebels should also be entrusted to him. The control of Berar, Pāthrī and Telingāna, and the extirpation of the son of Shāh 'Alī and of 'Ambar Jeo were committed to the Khān-khānān.

806 One of the occurrences was the turning back to Allahabad of the Prince Royal from the neighbourhood of Etawah, in accordance with the orders of H.M. At the time of the New Year he had petitioned¹ and expressed a wish to kiss the threshold, saying that his distance from the Presence disquieted his mind. As the petition did not possess the glory of sincerity, it was not accepted. Meanwhile news came that he was proceeding towards the court with evil intentions and accompanied by 30,000² horse. A Fate-like order was issued from the antechamber of wrath and severity to the effect that "He should recognize that his peace and prosperity lay in returning to Allahabad. If a desire for service had seized his collar, he should come to court unattended." Inasmuch as his disposition was not sincere, he on receipt of this order lost the thread of plan, and was mortified, and turned back from Etawah towards Allahabad. In reply to the order he used expressions of lamentation, and represented his ashamedness, and made excuses unworthy of being heard and sent them to the court by the Sadr-i-Jahān.³ Close upon

who also sent ten elephants to the Khān-khānān.

¹ From MS. No. 260 in the I.O. and the Iqbāl-nāma it appears that the petition was conveyed by one 'Idal barqandāz. The Iqbāl-nāma gives an abstract of the petition and quotes two lines of poetry that it contained. At this place the same work notes that at this time the cold in Kashmīr was excessive and the lakes were frozen over.

² Text 1,000 but the Iqbāl-nāma has 30,000. It seems plain from the animus shown in this account that Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ or Ināyat Ullah was writing in Shāh Jahān's reign

and not in Jahāngīr's? The Zub-data—Tawārīkh I.O. MS. 1805 says Salīm set out in Shawwāl 1010, March, April 1602, and that he had with him more than 30,000 horse, about 1,000 elephants, and 2,000 boats. He arrived at Etawah which is ten leagues from Agra. Akbar recommended him to return on account of the heat of the weather. He turned back on 2nd Zīl-hajja 1010 = 14th May 1602. The Iqbāl-nāma gives the date of Selīm's leaving Allahabad as Wednesday, 30th Isfandārmaz of the 47th year. This would be 10th March 1602.

³ B. 468. The Iqbāl-nāma gives

this another order was issued to the Prince to the effect that the provinces of Bengal and Orissa were made over to him, and that he should proceed to that extensive country. An order was also issued to Rajah Mān Singh that he should leave the province of Bengal to the Prince's agents, and should himself come as a pilgrim and pay his devotions at court. But the Prince thought his advantage consisted in acting contrary to the orders of his visible God, and did not consent to take the governorship of that large country.

An order was issued to the Rai Rayān to take up his quarters between Narwar and Canderī, and to govern that country with prudence. The Khān Ā'zim M. Koka received the lofty rank of 7,000 *zāt* and 6,000 horse. Hāshim K. received a *manṣab* of 1,500, S. Daulat Bakhtiyār received one of 2,000. The presents of Shāh Beg K., the governor of Qandahār, were produced before H.M. A marriage was made between Prince Khusrū and the Khān Ā'zim's daughter, and an order was given that S'aīd K. 'Abdullah K.,¹ and Mīr Ṣadr Jahān should convey one lakh of rupis to the house of the Khān Ā'zim by way of dower (*shīr bahā*). 50,000 rupis were presented to 'Allāmī S. Abu-l-fazl. The sons of M. Yūsuf K. presented themselves and received suitable appointments. As the distress and poverty of the peasants (*kadīwar*) of Kabul was represented to H.M., one year's revenue was altogether remitted to that country, and an order was given to the collectors that for eight years one-eighth share of the revenue of the fief-holders should be remitted. The *manṣab* of Shamsu-d-dīn² Ḥusain, the son of the Khān Ā'zim—who was the Nāib of the province of Gujarat—was fixed at 2,000, principal and increase (*aṣal u izāfa*). It became known that Khudāwand K. Abyssinian had stirred up sedition in the *sarkārs* of Pāthrī and Pāthan,³ (?) and the Khān-khānān sent a force under the command of Sūraj Singh and Ghaznīn K. of Jālaur to punish him. Good men went to that country and defeated the enemy, and praiseworthy efforts were made to keep that country in repose.

an abstract of the letter. It throws the blame on the hypocrites who poisoned Akbar's mind, and says that in reality the affection between Akbar and Jahāngīr was like that between Jacob and Joseph!

¹ I.O. MS. 260 says he was a descendant of Muḥammad Ghaus of Gwaliyār. The present is there called *sācaq*.

² B. 450.

³ The *Iqbāl-nāma* seems to have

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One of the occurrences was the victory of Īrīj, the son of the Khān-khānān and the defeat of 'Ambar Jeo. News came that when it was known that 'Ambar had gone to Telingāna and that Mīr Martazā had not been able to maintain himself in Nānder, and that he and Sher Khwāja had gone to the village of Jahrī,¹ and that the enemy was being powerful in that country, and that Sher Khwāja and Mīr Martazā were in distress, the Khān-khānān had sent his son Īrīj² with a large force to quell the commotion. Īrīj joined Mīr Martazā and Sher Khwāja, and resolved to engage the enemy. On learning this, 'Ambar went to Damtour and from there proceeded to Qandahār.³ Meanwhile Farhād Abyssinian joined 'Ambar with 2 or 3,000 horse. The brave men of the victorious army did not halt anywhere but advanced towards the foe. As the enemy stood their ground, the leaders of the victorious army drew up their forces. In the centre was Īrīj with his father's troops and *manṣabdārs*. In the advance were Rajah Sūraj Singh, Bahādur-al-mulk, S. Walī, Parbat Sen Khatrī, Mukund Rai, Girdhar Dās, son of Rai Sāl Darbārī, Rāghū Dās, son of Khangār S. Maudūd, Zāhid, son of Shujā'at K., Qāsim Husain K., S. Abul-fath, son of S. M'arū, S. Mastafā, Fath K. Lodī, Ikhtiyār K., Sher K. and other heroes. In the right wing were Mīr Martazā and a number of active men. In the left wing were 'Alī Mardān Bahādur, and a party of brave men. 'Ambar also drew up his forces. First, the enemy's van drove off the elephants and attacked the imperial van, and there was a hot fight. From the smoke of the guns and muskets day put on the dark robes of night. The brave imperialists discomfited the foe by their bullets and the whizzing of their arrows. Then the centre made manful attacks. If the men of the right and left wings had extended the arm of courage, the enemy would not have escaped, and 'Ambar and Farhād would certainly have been made prisoners. Twenty elephants, etc., were captured.⁴ When the news of this glorious victory was brought to H.M. by a report of Prince Daniel, thanks

808 were returned to God. The victors were rewarded by promotion and

Bāsim and this is probably right.
See J. II. 235.

¹ In Sarkār Pāthrī, J. II. 236.

² B. 491.

³ Iqbāl-nāma has Kahandahar (?)

⁴ Malik 'Ambar was severely wounded in this battle. See Ferish-ta. The victory was followed by a peace between 'Ambar and the Khān-khānān.

gifts of horses and robes of honour. The Prince sent ten of the elephants to court, and kept ten by himself, with the idea that he would present them whenever he came to court.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Jammū. When Husain Beg S. 'Umarī besieged the fort of Jammū, the Zamīndār of Nagarkot and the other landowners and hillmen of the parganas of Lakhanpūr, Jasrota, Mānkoṭ, brought help to the ruler thereof. They made great efforts, but were unsuccessful and fled away by night. Rāmgarha, Jasrota, Jammū, Mānkoṭ and Kobast (?) were taken.

Various items of news from Bengal brought joy. In the first place, Rajah Mān Singh came to Dhāka (Dacca) and by means of hopes and fears brought the ruler Kedār Rai on the right road of service. Secondly, when news came that Jalāl¹ of Kahakra had with a body of evil-disposed persons attacked the towns of Akrā (?)² and Maldah and committed great oppression on the traders and inhabitants there, the Rajah sent Khwāja Bāqar Anṣārī to Ghorāghāt to Mahā Singh, in order that he might join with him in putting down the disturbance. When Mahā Singh came to Kahakra, Jalāl kept the river Mandarī³ (?) in front of him and appeared with 5,000 foot and 500 horse. Mahā Singh without delay put his horse into the river, and as the bank was high it was difficult for the horses to

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma has Māu instead of Jalāl.

² The Iqbāl-nāma has Agrā or Akrā Maldah. It is evident I think that the Agrā of text is the Akrā of the Āin, J. II. I.O.M. 260 has Maldah quite clearly. The text wrongly has Mālera. جلال كهكرو وال Jalāl Kahakrawāl. There are no vowel-points and so the proper spelling is unknown to me. B. 479, n. 3, speaks of a Kokrah or Khukra which is the old name for Chutīā Nāgpūr, but evidently this is not the place meant in the text. The Kahakra or Kakra there mentioned was in Bengal and must, I think, be identical with the Bāzkhokrā or Bār Khokrā of the Āin, J. II. 131. Tiefenitihaler has Bār-

ghora and Gladwin Bāzghogera. He has Jawaragra as the heading for the 14 parganas. This was in the Sarkār of Jannatābād and was one of the 14 parganas belonging to Jawār Akrā or Agrā. As pointed out by Mr. Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 110, Jawār here means a division of country. One of the parganas of the Jawār is called Havelī Akra and Beames says, "Probably Agra on the Pūrnabhāba river now absorbed in the Shīkarpūr pargana of Barbakābād." Mr. Beames refers to Jalālgarh as the name of a fort N.E. of Purniah.

³ Probably this is the Mahānandā river. See Beames l.c., p. 90. Chalmers has Mahānanda.

mount it, and some ¹ of his companions lost their lives. Most of them emerged with safety and attacked the foe. The villain threw the dust of ruin on his head and fled like the wind. Mahā Singh's mind being at ease about these matters considered that it was indispensable to put down Qāzī Mūmin, who at this time had collected many evil-disposed persons ² in Purniah and was devastating that country, and so proceeded thither. That ill-fated one had made a fort ³ on the bank of the Kosī and was meditating flight. As soon as he heard of the approach of the imperial troops he put his family into boats and went off there (to the island?) Mahā Singh sent 500 horse across the river after him, and he went to an island. On account of the thick jungle the troops could not get a trace of him. Active men scattered about and came to that island from every side. Mūmin's eye fell first upon a few of them, and perceiving that they

809 were few in number, and being ignorant of the proximity of others he sought to engage. He defeated the first force. Murād Beg Uzbek and Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, a relative of Muḥibb 'Alī K. took no account of this defeat and fought gallantly. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad K. sacrificed his life on the path of loyalty. At this time there was fear that injury should accrue to the victorious troops. But by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh Qāzī Mūmin fell headlong from his horse and was killed on the spot. The heroes were victorious. Next news came to the Rajah that Uṣmān ⁴ the accursed had crossed the Brahmaputra with a large force, and that Bāz Bahādur Qalmāq, the thānadār of that quarter, had abandoned his post, and had come to Bhawāl. The Rajah came to Bhawāl in the space of a day and a night, and next day had a fight with the enemy on the bank of the river Bihār^b (?) Many Afghans were slain and much booty in the shape of boats (*nuwāra*) and artillery was obtained. When he had made the *thāna* strong by entrusting it to able men he came to Dhāka, and ordered a number of brave men to cross the Anjhamati ⁶

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma says nearly 100 were drowned and so does Chalmers and I.O. MS. 260.

² Chalmers has Rabnābād, but probably Purniah is right.

³ I.O. MS. 260 adds "in Purniah."

⁴ Cf. Elliot VI. 106.

⁵ This is Moẓaffar K.'s slave who had become loyal.

⁶ The Iqbāl-nāma does not name the river. It has sār for sāz-i-atish and perhaps this has been read as Bihār 29. Perhaps the Icāmatī in the Pabna district.

(?) and to punish 'Īsā and Kedār, the ruler of Bikrāmpūr and Sarhanpūr. The wicked Afghans leagued with Dāūd, the son of 'Īsā and the landholders and closed the ferries and prepared for war. For some days the imperialists were unable to cross. The Rajah on perceiving the state of affairs came from Dhāka to Shāhpūr.¹ He first appointed a body of men to keep those who had gone before. As the affair was beyond their strength, and there was much fighting at the ferry, he saw that the remedy was for him to come to the spot in person. On arriving, he without delay mounted his elephant and entered the river. Other strong-hearted men proceeded manfully to swim the river. They crossed and defeated the enemy. They became unsteady and fled. The Rajah followed them and marching by night came to Barhānpūrī² (?) and Tarah (?). Sher K.,³ the proprietor, then had the wisdom to wait upon the Rajah. From there he went to Sirhanpūr⁴ and Bikrampūr. Dāūd and the other Afghans went off to Sonargāon. The Rajah's mind became at ease about the enemy and he went to Dhāka.

At this time Rai Sāl Darbārī was raised to the rank of 2,500 *zāt* and 1,250 horse. He was one of the old servants of the court. He was a good servant and one who jeopardised his life. Rai Singh Rāthor had on account of want of wisdom been unstable, and as a punishment he had for some time been excluded from the *kornish*. At this time, as marks of repentance appeared in him, he was summoned and his offences were pardoned and regarded as not having been committed. An order was given for admitting him to the *kornish*. A favourable reception of his son (Dalpat)—who continu- 810 ally acted contrary to his father's wishes—was made conditional on his pleasing his father. H.M. remarked "until he attain the good graces of his father—who is his visible God, and the pleasing of whom is bound up with the pleasing of God—he cannot participate in the favours of the sovereign."

¹ In Sarkār Tājpūr, J. II. 135. A small *pargana* ten miles N. of the town of Purniah (Beames).

² This name seems certainly wrong, I.O. MS. 260 apparently has Mahūrī and Tīrah.

³ Chalmers has Shere Ghuzny miscopied in Elliot as "Then Ghuzny." It is also Sher Ghāzī in I.O. MS. 260.

⁴ Harīpūr in I.O. 260.

Reports of the officers of the Deccan arrived stating that Prince Sultān Daniel had taken away the *jāgīr* of Shāhrukḥ, and that the Mīrzā was grieved on this account and wished to come to court. An order was issued to the Prince stating that his resumption of the fief was exceedingly disapproved of, and that he must restore it. A gracious letter also was addressed to the Mīrzā, telling him that the composing of the distractions of the province of Mālwa was committed to his judgment, and that he should be fervent in the service, and not come to court without being summoned. He was also honoured by the presentation of a horse. The charge of the province of Multan was made over to S'aīd K., and he was loaded with favours and sent off there. Partāb Singh, the brother of Rajah Mān Singh, came from Bengal and did homage. It was reported that the victorious army had returned after being victorious over Bāsū, and that the fort of Kūlīn (?) had been entrusted after its capture to Rām Dās.

It was reported to H.M. that the Khān-khānān had addressed himself to extirpating the thorn of the sedition of Rājū, and that Prince Sultān Daniel having heard of the misconduct of one of the Fārūqīs in Bābilgarha¹ had sent a force under the command of Tardī Beg K. and Khawāja Abū-l-ḥasan to punish him, and that he had fled from there to Daulatābād, and that Khawāja Nāzīr, the eunuch, had shut the gate of the fort against the troops and commenced to fight. They had therefore set themselves to besiege the fort, and had pressed hard upon the garrison. When they had no way of escape they had capitulated and become loyal. An order was issued to 'Allāmī S. Abū-l-faḡl that he should come to court unattended, and that he should make over his army to his son S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, and put him in charge of affairs. The Hippocrates of wisdom, the very learned S. Abū-l-faḡl, on account of his abilities and his loyalty and devotion, was rising, from rank to rank of confidence and intimacy. The envious on beholding this, heated the fire of envy in the furnace of their hearts and sought for opportunities of satisfying their grudge against him. As he was under the protection of God, and the eternal favour was security for that pure-minded one, his

811 advancement continued, and no evil happened to him from any con-

¹ A Bābil is mentioned as in Sarkār Gāwil J. II. 232.

tingency. But the spite of the envious constantly gained strength. Gradually Prince Sultān Selīm's mind became prejudiced by the representations of liars against this foremost one of wisdom. As the ways of the prince were displeasing to H.M., and he continually went counter to his father's wishes, his father's neglect of him was increasing daily. Evil-minded persons represented that the aversion of his father was due to the efforts of the Shaikh and that the latter was endeavouring to have him disgraced and distrusted. This had such an effect on the prince, who was of a hot disposition, and had lost his prudence owing to drinking, and to the intoxication of youth and of success, that he set himself to take the life of this unique one of the age. At the time when the prince wanted to come to court without being sent for, and when the secret-discerning sovereign perceived his intent and would not allow him to come, it became known that the Shaikh had been summoned to come quickly to court from the Deccan. The prince thought he had his opportunity, and gave orders to Bīr Singh Deo Bandīla—who had long been a highway robber, and whose home was on the road from the Deccan, and who for a while had been in the prince's service—that as the Shaikh was proceeding to the court unattended, he should put an end to him. He then despatched that villain after having made him hopeful of many favours. That ignorant partizan (*lwān nādān*) went home as quickly as possible and collected a number of bestial, savage Bandīlahs and lay in wait. When the Shaikh received the order of the world's lord, he set out from the Deccan. At Ujjain he heard that that evil plotter was holding the road. He did not attach weight to this statement and disapproved of the suggestion of his well-wishers that he should turn back and proceed by the route of Ghātī Cāndā. Apparently, as the time of death was at hand, the thread of deliberation dropped from his hand! Or perhaps he desired to sever the links of the bodily elements, and his heart was full, from beholding the jugglery of fortune and the ways of his contemporaries! On 1st Rabī-al-awwāl 1011 (9th August 1602), between Serai Bīr and Antrī,¹ Bīr Singh Deo came out from his ambush. That wise and warlike man, with an indignant heart, an open brow, and a soul full of reliance on God, and of courage, prepared for

¹ In Sarkār Bayānwān J. II. 188, A. F.'s tomb is there.

battle. Gadāi K. Afghān—who had been long in his service, and had been nurtured by him, came forward and turned his rein. He in his loyalty represented: “The enemy appears very numerous and
812 we are too few to be successful. It is proper that I and some others go to face the enemy and that you slowly proceed on your way until the enemy has finished with us. There will be a long interval, and you will arrive comfortably at Āntrī which is three *kos* distant, and where there are the Rai Rayān and Rajah Singh with 2 or 3,000 horse.” That haughty and brave man replied: “To the noble lovers of their honour it is pleasanter to play away their lives with credit and to die bravely than to spend their days in cowardice, and to bring on themselves the stain of timidity. According to the code of the valiant what can be baser than to attach importance to fleeting life and give place to the enemy, and to fix ones heart on the unstable world and so gather eternal disgrace? If this be my last day—and that must happen to every one—what remedy is there, and what counsel can one take?” He also said: “My gracious sovereign has raised me from the rank of a student to the lofty position of an amīr, a vizier, and a general. On this day if I act contrary to H.M.’s opinion of me, by what name shall I be called among men, and how shall I have a clear countenance among my rivals.” He said this and proceeded against the enemy. Gadāi again importuned and said: “Soldiers frequently act in this manner. When it is not fitting to engage with the foe, they do not consider it to be a breach in the pillars of courage for them to step aside and turn their rein, and to take vengeance at another time. As yet we have time. You can withdraw yourself from this dangerous spot.” He who was prepared for the last journey, and whose foot was on the path of laying down his life paid no regard to these words and said: “I cannot flee from this unwashed thief.” They were still speaking when Bir Singh Deo arrived. The brave man urged on the steed of bravery on the hostile forces, and died from a spear thrust in the breast. Gadāi K., and some others obtained the boon of sacrificing their lives. Alas for that mine of wisdom, and woe for that ocean of knowledge! The night lamp of science and wisdom was extinguished, and the fountain of eloquence and excellence was stilled. There was an evil day for genius, and the livers of knowledge and perception were torn. Intelligence and discernment were dis-

solved and farsight and acuteness removed their baggage from the world !

Verse.

Alas for the celestial knowledge ; it has turned to dust
The pillars of science have moved, and the nest of eloquence
is empty !

When this sorrowful news reached the court of the world's lord, his heart was grieved for that the banquet-adorned and the en-**813**lightened companion had passed away. The great nobles lamented that the life-thread of the adorned of the court of the viziership had been cut short. The gatherers of wisdom sate in sorrow for that he who sate four-square on the divan of eloquence had left the world. The sagacious and active-minded heaved a cold sigh because the last sleep had seized him who fostered enlightenment. The community at large wept and lamented because the days were ended of him who was the leader of the lords of "Peace with all" and a knower of the disposition of the age. The grief and sorrow which were occasioned to the appreciative Khāqān are beyond expression. I have heard from a reliable source that at midday H.M. was engaged in watching the flights of pigeons. He was standing and admiring their wonderful movements, when S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī brought the news of the catastrophe. H.M. uttered a cry and became insensible. After a long time he recovered. For several days in succession he had moist eyes and a sorrowful countenance because of the sacrifice of that excellent companion, that prince of loyalty, that interlocutor of lofty intellect, that friend of the private meeting and that faithful confident and counsellor. Whenever¹ the disaster was brought to his mind, he heaved a painful sigh, and beat his breast. He severely censured the prince for what he had done, and often blamed him. Resentment against him took possession of his holy soul so that even to the end he was displeased with him. In spite of all his abasement and supplications he never forgave him. "The truth-seeking vizier of the Shāhinshāh," and "Abul Fazl the enlightened" are the two suitable chronograms² for this model of the lords of wisdom, which

¹ The writer of the *Iqbāl-nāma* says that he repeatedly was an eye-witness of this grief.

² They yield 1011.

occurred to the writer while penning these pages. An order was given to the Rai Rayān to extirpate Bir Singh Deo, and not to rest

The circumstances of A. F.'s death are described in B. XXV, in Asad Beg's Memoirs. Elliot VI, 154, in Jahangir's Memoirs, and in Tiefenthaler, who from his connection with Narwar had perhaps special means of information. I myself have seen A. F.'s tomb at Antrī and have described it in an article in the "Calcutta Review." It would be interesting to know if the body under the tomb wants the head as that is said to have been sent to Jahāngīr who had it flung into a privy. There are discrepancies about the date of the murder and about the place. It appears however that the true date is 4th Rabī I. 1011 or 12th August 1602. Apparently A. F. had passed Antrī and his body was afterwards carried back there. The murder appears to have been committed about a mile from Serai Bar, B. XXV. Tiefenthaler says, I, 184, it took place at a ferry of the Sindh river at a place called Dūmghāt about two leagues to the west of Dehala which again is ten leagues west of Dattia. Of Dattia there is a plan in Tiefenthaler, and the same plate gives a view of Āsīr-garh. The Iqbāl-nāma says, A. F. was killed on Friday 1st Shahrīyūr = the beginning of Rabī-al-awwāl, at a place between the Sarai of Bar and Antrī. The Maasir II, 616 may also be consulted. Chalmers says, A. F. had reached Serai Bunga, two stages (in Persian text *du rūza*) from Gwaliār when he was attacked on 1st Shahrīyūr. There are two copies of Asad Beg's Memoirs in the B.M., and

both belong to the Elliot MSS. I have seen one, Or. 1996, Rieu's Cat. III., 979, and also Mr. Chapman's translation, Add. 30,776. In a note at Elliot VI, 156 it is stated that Bir Sing is invariably called Nar Sing in the MS. and that this is the more likely name of the two. This note is reproduced from a note, apparently by Sir Henry Elliot, to Chapman's translation. As printed in Elliot, it conveys the impression that the name is Nar Sing in the original Persian MS. and there is a similar remark at p. 107. But this is not the case. Mr. Chapman has written Nar, but in the Persian MS. it is clearly Bir Sing. so that there is little doubt that this is the real name. Āsad Beg strikes one as having been rather a futile person. He was not to blame for being absent at the time of the murder, but surely he might have done more than he did after he heard of it. Instead of sallying forth from Sironj and recovering the body, or attempting to punish the murderers he proceeded to fortify himself as if there was any danger after the robbers had gained their object! The date he gives for the murder is Friday 7th Rabi-ul-awwal 1011 (not 1010) and he adds that it occurred at the time of prayer—apparently the Friday's prayer which occurs after midday. If Asad's date is correct the murder occurred on 15th August 1602. He parted from A. F. at Sironj which is placed in the Āin in Mālwa, Sarkār Canderī, but which is now in the Rajputana State of

till he had severed his head from his body. Rajah Rāj Singh, Rām Cand Bandīla and other zamīndārs of that neighbourhood were appointed to assist. Ziyā-ul-Mulk was appointed to be Bakhshī to this force, and a number of officers of the court were associated with him.

One of the occurrences was the arrival from Badakhshān of a petition from M. Badiū-'z-zamān¹ the sister's son of M. Ḥakīm. In the 46th year 'Allāmi wrote that he after prevailing over Badakhshān read the *Khutba* and coined money in the name of Akbar, and sent a skilful ambassador to apologise for the smallness of the service which he had hitherto rendered. The sovereign, the favourer of the weak, sent back the envoy with abundant goods, and arms and other warlike materials, and so increased Badiū-'z-zamān's resources. 814 At this time he again petitioned and asked for some warlike materials. H.M. sent twenty camel loads of weapons of war, etc. with Malik Muḥammad Badakhshī—who had been appointed as *dārogha* of the ruby mines in Badakhshān, and also sent an encouraging *firmān*.

One of the occurrences was the death of Khwāja Sulaimān the bakhshī of the army of the hill-country of the Panjab. He had sent a body of men against a village, and was expecting news of it. As no intelligence came he personally followed up those whom he had sent. He came up while they were engaged with the enemy, and when arrows and bullets were flying on either side. A bullet reached his temple and he was killed.

At this time it was reported to H.M. that Prince Daniel—who in accordance with the insistence of H.M. had for a time given up wine-drinking, and had broken his wine-vessels, and had taken an

Tonk. It is 78 m. N.W. Saugor. Sarai Barār was the last stage reached by A. F. and it was shortly after leaving it that he was attacked and killed. It is described by Asad as being two or three stages beyond Sironj, on the way to Gwaliyar. It was beyond Kālabāgh. Asad represents that he was left behind at Sironj to punish Indrajit the brother (?) of Bir Sing and he throws the

blame of A. F.'s not being properly escorted on Gopal Dās Nakta. He says that Bir Singh sent for a *firmān* and told A. F.—as he was dying—that “Hazrat Jahāngīrī” had sent for him. This would seem to indicate that Selīm had already called himself Jahāngīr.

¹ He was soon afterwards defeated and put to death by Bāqī K. See below p. 817.

oath against drinking wine by the exalted head of H.M.—had at this time broken his vow and again fallen into drinking habits, and that in consequence of such fire-water his disposition had become immoderate. A monitory order was issued¹ to that nursling of sovereignty, inquiring why he did not take pity on his youth and beauty, and, why he did not take warning from the instance of his elder brother Prince Sultān Murād. What evils more than that were not produced by wine to the corporeal frame—which was the choice building of God's hand! If he desired to please the Creator, and also his visible deity (his father) he would withdraw from association with that injurious companion (wine), and would not, for the sake of a momentary gratification, call for his eternal ruin!

From the reports of the Šubahdār of Kabul and other officers there it appeared that ²Aḥad Dād had stirred up strife in Tīrāh, and that the tribes of the Afrīdīs, Panī, Orakzai and Sūrī had joined him. Also that Takhta Beg, who in order to settle the disputes of the Yūsufzai and the Orakzai³ was residing in Nagarkot, had on the receipt of this news gone to Peshawar, and from thence to Tīrāh, and that the Afrīdīs had submitted to him. Also that Aḥad Dād had gone from Tīrāh to Āhanpoṣh and that neighbourhood. Also that Takhta Beg had punished a number of the Afghans who at the instance of Aḥad Dād had devastated fort Arkhail and Dūmandī (?) and had settled among the 'Alīzai. Also that he had established *thānās* and had closed the rivers, (*rūdbandī*) and that the Afrīdī chiefs had come in, and that the Orakzai leaders had made treaties, **815** and that Aḥad Dad's influence had been destroyed, and that he had failed and gone to Cauhāna (?). All these things were reported at length. As Husain Qulīj the son of Qulīj Khān, had distinguished himself in the Panjab, and had made obedient Talūk Cand the ruler of Nagarkot, he received a robe of honour; Qulīj Khān, a special shawl and Talūk Cand also a shawl.

As Prince Sultān Selīm had committed great faults, and H.M. was very angry with him, no one could venture to petition for him. The great lady of the age, Miriam-Makānī and the Khātun of the

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma says the rebuke was conveyed by Bīr Naraīn.

² I.O.M.S. 260 has Aḥadād اَاحاداد

³ The Iqbāl-nāma says "The Dila-zāk."

chamber of chastity, Gulbadan Begam, begged for his forgiveness. Inasmuch as H.M. had a great respect for Miriam-Makānī and Gulbadan Begam, he granted their wishes and gave an order for the coming of the Prince to court, and ordered that the cupola of chastity, Selīma Sultān Begam should go and give the Prince the news of forgiveness, and bring him to court. That chaste lady in order to soothe the prince's apprehensions took from H.M. an elephant named Fath Lashkar, a special horse, and a robe of honour and went off with them.

At this time also the *faujdarī* of Mewāt was conferred on Iftikhār Beg. On 2nd Ābān the solar weighment took place, and there was a feast of joy. The sovereign was weighed against twelve articles, and the needy had their wants supplied. The presents of Qāsim Khān, arrived from Transoxiana and were received. Shāh Beg Khān the governor of Qandahār was raised to the rank of 5000, and the government of Ghaznīn was taken from Sharīf Kh. and given to him. A strict order was also issued about the security of the Qandahār and Ghaznīn roads so that the merchants might have their minds at ease. Sālbāhan the head of the artillery received the title of Rajah. He was unequalled as a gunner, and was promoted on account of his long service. Petitions were received from M. Shāh-rukḥ representing his illnesses and weakness and Benī Dās, physician, was sent to treat him. Manūcihr the ambassador of the ruler of Persia received valuable presents and was allowed to depart. Numerous productions of India were sent along with him as presents for his sovereign, and at the time of his departure Manūcihr received four lakhs of *dāms* in addition to what had already been given to him. News came that 'Irij the son of the Khān-khānān had fought a great battle with 'Ambar Jeo and that by H.M.'s good fortune he had been victorious and had captured elephants and other property. H.M. as a reward for this service gave him the title of Bahādur. Jādūn Dās the brother's son of Rai Bihārī Cand was sent off in order that he might convey favourable orders to Prince Sultān Daniel, the Khān-khānān and to 'Irij Bahādur. He was to bring with him 816 to court the elephants that had been taken. An ornamental waist-dagger was sent with him for the Prince. An order was issued to S. Abdu-r-raḥmān the son of 'Allāmī Abū-l-faḍl that he should join the Rai Rayān and exact vengeance from Bir Singh Deo for the mur-

der of his father. His fief also was assigned to him in Mālwa. At the request of the intercessors for the Prince-Royal, a special robe of honour and a special horse were sent to him by Burhān-ul-mulk Khwāṣ, and many gracious messages were conveyed to him by the same means. Prince Sultān Daniel sent as *peshkash* a diamond weighing 27 *surkhs*¹ and a ruby weighing 4 *misqāls*. An order was issued to Ābū-l-qāsim Namakīn² that he should send to court M. Ghāzī³ along with a confidential slave of his named Khasrū. Hāshim K., Qāsim Khān Parwāna and Hasan Qulīj came from their respective fiefs and paid their respects at court. Hakīm Raknū⁴ and Hakīm Haidar had the good fortune to come from 'Irāq and enter into the service of H.M. The first of these had accumulated a knowledge of medicine and of the current sciences. He had also a turn for poetry, and put into verse lofty sentiments. The other was a passed master in science, was well acquainted with physic and an able writer of prose and verse. He had inward and outward graces. A petition from the Prince-Royal was laid before H.M. The gist of it was that he had met the noble lady (Selīma Begam) two stages off and paid his respects to her. He also expressed in the petition a wish for the horses which the Persian ambassador had brought as *peshkash*. Kharraṃ the Khān Ā'zim produced twenty Kachī horses (from Cutch) which had been sent from Jūnagarh as *peshkash*.

¹ It is the seed of the Abrus Precatorius and is the same as a rati. B. 16. n. The Iqbāl-nāma gives the weight of the diamond as 4 *misqāls* and 5 *surkhs*.

² Tamkīn in text.

³ This is the son of M. Jānī Beg of Tattah. See infra p. 839, M. Ghāzī had shown a disposition to rebel, and S'aīd had been sent to bring him into order. See the Maasir III. 345. The Khasrū here described is called by the Maasir Khasrū Cirkis (Circassian) and is described as having been the vakīl of Jānī Beg's family for one hundred years. He took part in the struggle for Scinde's independence against the Khān-khān-

ān. M. Ghāzī died in 1021 (1612), in the 7th year of Jahangīr's reign. Iqbāl-nāma 67. There is a story that Akbar wanted to poison M. Ghāzī, and that by mistake he himself took the poisoned pills and died. See Manucci I, 150 who, however does not give M. Ghāzī's name. No doubt the story is false.

⁴ See Maasiru-l-Umarā II, 683 article Rahmat K. Haidar's name was Rafīu-d-dīn Haidar. See B. 593. But of course this Haidar must have come before the 47th year for A. F. mentions him. Probably the Haidar of text is the Naṣīrī of Maasir, II, 683.

It was represented that Bir Singh Deo had taken shelter in jungles and difficult defiles and was practising robbery. The Rai Rayān had several times chastised him. When he learnt that Bir Singh had come into the fort of Bhānder, and when he was surrounded there by the imperial vanguard, that he had crept into the fort of Īrij,¹ the Rai Rayān had quickly gone there, and Bir Singh had come out and fought on the bank of the river (the Betwa). There was a hot musketry fire, and the Rai Rayān crossed the river. As the bank was high, the men got over with difficulty, and there was a contest. Bir Singh was defeated and entered the fort of Īrij. The Rai Rayān set himself to besiege it. When it was nearly being taken, Bir Singh broke down the wall of the fort at night, and came out on the side of the battery of Rajah Rāj Singh. Probably the Rajah showed slackness in the matter of seizing him. The brave men pursued him and killed forty ² of the wretch's followers. But **817** as the jungle was thick, and there were many ravines the pursuers were obliged to return, and the villain managed to escape.

One of the occurrences was the death of M. Badi'u-z-zamān. On account of want of equipments he had asked for some arms from the court and H.M. had sent him a supply along with Malik Muḥammad Badakhshī. Before the latter arrived, Bāqī K. the ruler of Tūrān came to Badakhshān with a large force. The Mīrzā though he was weak set himself to fight. The enemy was victorious and captured him, and put him to death.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Payinda K., the brother of Bāqī K. It has ³ been mentioned that after the death of 'Iatam K. (Yatīm), Bāqī K. went to Tūrān and acquired the sovereignty of that country, and that Payinda became in the *garmsīr* country the prisoner of Shāh Beg K. He was now sent to court. After he had been produced before H.M. he was made over to M. Wālī and he, out of vengeance for his brother Badī-uz-zamān ⁴ whom Bāqī K. had killed, put that innocent man to death.

¹ Apparently the proper spelling is 'Iric. See B. and Elliot vi, 108.

² The mention of an elephant in Chalmers and Elliot is apparently a mistake, *cahal* having been read as *fīl*.

³ This may refer to page 804 of Persian text but the reference is not clear. The real name is Yatīm and this was a sobriquet of Dīn Muḥammad.

⁴ This Badi'-uz-zamān was the son

One of the occurrences was the death of Gulbadan Begam, the paternal aunt of H.M. When the time of her departure from this caravanserai arrived, she fell ill of fever for some days, and the medicine of the physicians was of no avail. On Monday the 6th Ramzān 1011,¹ 7th February, 1603, she wrapped her face in the veil of annihilation. She had served God for 82 years in this unstable world. H.M. had much love for her, and from respect he supported her bier for some steps on his own shoulder. He won the hearts of the needy by giving them alms and so soothed the pure soul of that traveller to the abiding world. At the time of death—which is a season of silence and insensibility—Miriam Makānī the queen of the age, came to her pillow, but though she called her “Begam Jīo” (dear lady) she got no answer. As they had long used loving expressions to one another, she repeated the endearing expression.² The other opened her eyes on the blessed face of Miriam Makaanī and died after uttering this verse.

*Verse.*³

I'm weak and dying, may you live long!

The petition of the chaste Selima Sultān Begam arrived. She described with fervour the beautiful tale of the devotion and sincerity

of Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī and Fakhru-nisā Begam called by Jahan-gir, Tūzuk 68, Najību-nisā, the sister of M. Ḥakīm and half-sister of Akbar. He went to Badakhshān from Ḥisār and defeated an imposter who claimed to be a son of M. Sulaimān and took possession of Badakhshān in Akbar's name in the 46th year. See A. N. III, 792 and 813. He was however killed by Bāqī K. next year. The M. Wālī who killed Bāqī K.'s brother Payinda was another son of Khwāja Hasan. It was he who was married to Bolāqī Begam, a daughter of M. Daniel. The Maasir is in error in saying, III, 460, that the M. Wālī who married Bolāqī B. was another person. See Tūzuk J, 272. It is also wrongly stated in Maasir that

it was Akbar who gave Bolāqī B. in marriage to M. Wālī.

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma gives the date of her death as Monday, 6th Zi-ḥijja (1011), 6th May, 1603, but this seems certainly wrong as she died in the 47th year. Gulbadan Begam says she was eight when her father died. Bābar died on 26th December, 1530, consequently if she died in February 1603, she was then in her 82nd year.

² Jīo Begam Jīo. Jīo seems to be properly Jīv and to be connected with *jīvan* life.

³ The text has '*umrat*,' "thy life" but this does not appear in the Iqbāl-nāma, nor in the B.M. MSS., 1854, 1858 and 3271. Instead of '*umrat*' they have *bādā*.

of the Prince, and also represented that she had cleansed the stain of savagery and suspicion from his heart and that she would soon **818** bring him to court.

CHAPTER CLI.

BEGINNING OF THE 47⁸TH YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO WIT,
THE YEAR ISFANDĀRMAZ OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

On Friday, 8th Shawwāl 1011, 11th March 1603, after the passing of 2 hours 40 minutes the fiery-winged peacock (the sun) made his nest in Aries, and the twelfth year of the fourth cycle brought news of joy to mortals.

Verse.

New Year arrived, and the gardens became variegated,
The sun (shone) for the adornment of the season.
Inasmuch as air tempered water,
Bitter pools (of tears) in the eyes of lovers became sweet.

The palace was adorned by H.M.'s orders, and there were continual feastings up to the day of the culmination (*sharaf*). The world's skirt of hopes was filled by the desire-granting of H.M. The grandees acquired eternal bliss by presentation of offerings.

The chaste, secluded lady Selīma Sultān Begum had petitioned stating that she was coming to court with Prince Sultān Salīm. As the news-writers reported that Prince Sultān Daniel never quitted his cups, and that he had become weak and ill from constant wine-bibbing, the kindness of the spiritual physician willed that S. Ilahdād should be sent to summon him. Perhaps by coming to court his illness might be cured by the medicine of the *Shāhinshāh's* counsels. S. Ilahdād reported¹ H.M.'s desires to the prince. At this time the prince represented, "When I was informed of my being summoned, inasmuch as the time was not proper for sending for the *Khān-khānān* to Burhānpūr I went off rapidly to interview him in order that I might instruct him about what was fitting to be done, and might give him advice. When S. Ilahdād comes, I shall proceed to the holy threshold." When H.M. learnt this, his mystery-knowing mind perceived that the prince was not inclined to come,

¹ Perhaps it should be, S. Ilahdād would report.

and that his going from Khandes to the Deccan was a pretext. Accordingly an order was issued to the effect that his going to the Khān-khānān was a subterfuge, and that his not coming was due to his habits of drinking and self-indulgence. What need was there for the Khān-khānān's receiving instructions from him? If he wrote such things again H.M. would be a thousand times more displeased. **819** An order was also issued to the effect that Khwāja Farāsāt Khawāṣṣ— who had been left there on account of sickness—had several times been sent for, and also that the elephants which had been captured in the battle with 'Ambar and Farhād had been sent for, but that the prince had made improper pretexts and not forwarded them. He was enjoying himself in having fights of elephants which had not been produced before H.M. All these bad actions were proofs of the prince's unlucky star and perverted career. He must send all the elephants and also Khwāja Farāsāt to court.

A gracious message, together with a shawl, was sent to Mālwa to M. Shāhrukh in order to exalt him, and noted horses and choice robes of honour were sent to the officers of the Deccan. Rajah Sūraj Singh was distinguished among his equals by the grant of a kettle-drum. As he had distinguished himself in the Deccan H.M. rewarded him with a kettle-drum. On 12th Farwardīn¹ Bīca Jān Anaga the mother of Zain K. Koka died. H.M. went to her house and consoled the survivors. M. Shāhrukh petitioned for leave to come to court. An order was issued to the effect that Prince Daniel had been summoned. If he had the grace to come, then it would not be proper for M. Shāhrukh to come, for in that case the country would be denuded of loyal officers. If the Prince from presumption, self-indulgence, bad companionship, and continual drinking did not come, then the Mīrzā might leave his troops in Mālwa and come to court. An order was issued to the Rai Rayān that as Bir Singh Deo had become a vagabond in the desert of destruction, he should come to court with the servants who were assisting him. Twelve elephants sent by Prince Daniel were submitted for the inspection of H.M., and from among them one named Shāhrukh was placed among the special elephants.

¹ So in text, but the Iqbāl-nāma seems to make it 12th Ardībihisht for just before it an occurrence of 2nd

Ardībihisht is mentioned, 12th Ardībihisht is = 22nd April, 1603. She is also called Pīca Jān and Jījī.

One of the occurrences was the coming of Prince Sultān Selīm. When he was approaching the centre of fortune, he sent a petition to the effect that Her Majesty the Queen of the world, Miriām-Makānī, might take his hand and cast him at the feet of His sphere-brushing Majesty. His petition was granted, and H.H. Miriām-Makānī went forward one stage and by renewed cordiality soothed the prince's terrified soul. Next day he was brought to court, and the prince laid the countenance of humility and ashamedness at the feet of the Khāqān of the world, and confessed his evil doings. The enlightened sovereign ostensibly accepted his inadmissible excuses, and held him in a loving embrace. But the fawning of the prince did not remedy the inward dissatisfaction of the sovereign. The

820 prince presented as an offering 12,000 *muhurs* and 977 elephants. Out of the latter 350 were accepted. An order was issued to Prince Daniel to the effect that as Rajah Sūraj Singh had long been in that province, and wished to come to court, and also wished to arrange the affairs of his native country, he should keep Go-bind¹ Dās Bhātī, his officers together with his troops, and send off Sūraj Singh unattended to court, in order that he might reap benefit of good service and spend his days in his own country. The Prince Royal begged for the elephant Pūn (the Holy), which was unique for good dispositions and swiftness, and H.M. graciously granted his request. The generous Shāhinshāh in order to capture the terrified heart of the prince took his turban off his head and placed it on the prince's head. This was an omen of his adorning the crown and throne. Though the Khāqān did not approve of the Prince Royal's succeeding him, yet he involuntarily² put the crown of dominion on a head which had been made fit for the diadem of rule, and the auspicious *Humā* spread its shade. S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān the son, and 'Abu-l-barkāt the brother of 'Allāmī S. 'Abu-l-faẓl deceased came from the Deccan and brightened their foreheads by the prostration of service. The condolences of the King, the servant-cherisher, were balm to the inward wounds which they had sustained by the catastrophe of the sanctified Shaikh, and poured

¹ This is the man who was afterwards killed in Ajmere. See Tū-zuk J, 143.

² *Bekhwāst*, which Vullers and Stoingass render as voluntarily, but surely here it means involuntarily.

water on the fire; of their heated livers! They presented three elephants, four swords, seven strings of pearls and some ornamented vessels as *peshkash*, and these were duly accepted. A special shawl (*parm narm*) was presented to S. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān. Har Har Rai the son of Rajah Bīrbar brought the petition of Prince Daniel. It represented that he had left off drinking for six months, and it offered excuses for his not coming. Four lakhs of *dāms* were presented to M 'Alī¹ Akbarshāhī. Abū-l-baqī² Uzbek came from Tūrān and from his lucky star turned his face towards the K'aaba of fortune. H.M. gave him a *manṣab* of 500 together with 150 horse. Qulīj K.—who was an old servant—received the rank of 5,000 *zāt-u-sawār*.³ Husain Beg S. 'Umarī was sent off to the charge of the provinces of Kabul and Bangash. Mādhū Singh received a *manṣab* of 3,000 and 2,000 horse.

The occurrences in Bengal were as follows. The zamīndār of **821** the Magh⁴ country came with a large fleet and in the first place proceeded against Sonargāon, and invested the fort of Parmmahānī⁵ (?)—where were Sultān Qulī Qalmāq⁶ s. Mozaffar Khānī and a number of servants. He came out of the fort and fought with the

¹ See B. 482.

² The Iqbāl-nāma calls him Abū-'Alī and says he was for a long time governor of Mashhad.

³ See Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 9.

⁴ The text has *مکنا* Makna, and there is the variant Manka, though why the editors should say this occurs in various copies when, as appears from their preface, they had only one to work from, I do not understand. The correct reading seems to be *مگھا* Magha as given in a note to Chalmers translation. The Maghs are spoken of in the Āīn as the *qaum*-Maghā, the Magh tribe, Persian text, I, 388, and J. II, 120. There is a possibility however that the zamīndār Mukund is the person meant, though I do not think it

likely. The Bangu of Elliot, VI, 109, is the Banko of Chalmers who in a note to his MS. suggests that it is a mistake for Pegu. In I.O. MS. 260, it appears as Bangāla, and the remark is added that it appeared to the Rajah that it would be easy to take Bengal.

⁵ I.O. MS. 260, seems to have Barmīānī, or Barhyānī. Possibly Sonargāon may be a mistake for Sāt-gāon, and even without this being so it may be that Barmhattar in Sāt-gāon, J. II, 141, is the place meant. The Iqbāl-nāma seems to have Barmhāttī.

⁶ The word Qalmāq does not occur in I.O. MS., but it does in the Iqbāl-nāma. He assumed the name of Bāz Bahādur.

enemy, and by the might of H.M.'s fortune he was victorious. He thereupon proceeded to the fort which was held by Aḥmad the wife's brother of Yūsuf Kashmīrī. He fought with a number of Kashmīrīs, and some of his men were killed, and he himself was wounded¹ and fled at night from the field of battle. When the Rajah (Mān Singh) heard of the success of the enemy, he appointed Ibrāhīm Beg Atka, Rāghū Dās, Askaran, Dalpat Rai and others to render assistance. The enemy during several days fell upon the *thanahs*, and there were great combats. Ibrāhīm Beg set himself to put down the enemy and having arranged his forces bravely went forward to battle. There was hot fighting, and the enemy was chastised. Many were killed. The enemy regarded the river as a protection against the fire of the swords and took to their boats. They anchored their fleet and began a hot fire of cannon and muskets. The imperialists sank some of the boats² (*ghrābs*).

M. Shahrukh under the orders of H.M. led a force to put down the ruler of Bānswāra.³ By great exertions he forced the landholder to fly and took possession of his country, and for some time preserved its tranquillity. That man without home or household found Mālwa without a caretaker, and made a disturbance there. On hearing this, the Mīrzā left the country he had subdued and returned to put matters straight. When he came to Mālwa the said proprietor came to his home (Banswāra.) The Mīrzā regarded the rainy season as an obstacle and could not go there a second time.

One of the occurrences was the chastisement of M. Hasan the son of M. Shahrukh in the neighbourhood of Qandahār. It has been written⁴ in the (account of) end of the 45th year by the truthful pen of 'Allāmī that Hasan M. became foolish from weakness of character and went wrong in company with one of the Kashmīrīs. Up to this day no trace could be obtained of this wanderer. Now news came that he had in the first place gone to the ruler of

¹ I.O. MSS. 260 and 261, say he had three wounds. Probably *nīs* in text is a mistake for *seh* (3).

² The account in Chalmers is fuller and speaks of 100 boats having been taken.

³ Cf. Elliot, II, 109. The account

is abridged from the Iqbāl-nāma which gives the name of the Rajah as Rāwal Ūgar Sen. In text and in Iqbāl-nāma the country is called Bānswāla.

⁴ See above p. 785.

Persia. Shāh ‘Abbās, who had sent him to Husain K. the governor of Herat at the time when the Shāh was going to Āzarbaijān. When the Uzbek army turned back from plundering the countries of Merv, Mārūcāq and Murghāb, Husain K. took a suspicion into his head and wrote to the Shāh. “I do not think it right that a son of M. **822** Shahrukh should be here at this time.” The Shāh ordered him to be expelled, and Husain K. sent him off to Badakhshān. When the wicked fellow found it was impossible to make a disturbance in Badakhshān, he went about with his retainers ¹ and joined the Hazāras. The opportunists of the two parties united and extended the hand of plunder over the hilly ² country north of Qandahār. It is an extensive country with many Hazāra villages. After the taking of Qandahār, the imperialists took it from the Uzbeks. When the disturbance increased greatly, the warders of the country found that to contend with Hasan was beyond their strength and sent word to Shāh Beg K. He set out from Qandahār to quell the disturbance. That raw fellow (Hasan) fled after a short contest. The imperialists followed and put to death many who surrendered. Hasan escaped half-alive and went off to the hills of Haqcarān ³ (?) and sought protection there.

On the first of Mihr, Divine month, middle of September, 1603, Zīya-ul-mulk was raised to the rank of 700 *zāt* and 300 horse. At the request of Prince Sultān Selīm, the offences of Rajah Bāsū the ruler of Mau were forgiven. Tātār Beg Safarcī was raised to the rank of 700.

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Prince Sultān Selīm to punish the Rānā. He had been sent off for this purpose in the 45th year. His going wrong and his hastening to Allahabad without orders have been described by the truthful pen of the ‘Allāmī. At this time H.M. again ordered him to undertake the work. On 21st Mihr, Divine month, October, 1603, which was the feast of the Das-hara, he sent him off after giving him weighty counsels. The pleasure-loving Prince—who took this task on the shoulder of his energy without a wrinkle in his brow—went off ten *kos* from the capital,

¹ This has been copied from the Iqbāl-nāma. The word in text is ah-shām and denotes militia or other untrained soldiers.

² This too is abridged from the

Iqbāl-nāma. It calls the country on the northern hills Tulsī. Chalmers has Loosy.

³ The Iqbāl-nāma and Chalmers have Cakharān.

and then made unfitting objections. He made the smallness of his forces and the want of equipment as reasons for not proceeding and stayed in Fathpūr. H.M., who had tested the prince's loyalty, accepted his excuses and with outward graciousness ordered¹ that "To return and gather the bliss of service at this time when the astrologers reported unfavourably would not be proper. As he had taken leave at a favourable time, it was better that he should go to Allahabad and enjoy himself." On receiving this message the Prince joyfully, drinking wine, and pleasuring himself, crossed the Jumna at the ferry near Muttra and went off gaily. The enlightened knew the truth; this permission to depart and separate was a favour! Though the action of the Prince outwardly appeared to be entirely alien from governing, yet God had special designs with regard to him so that by such conduct he should be selected for reigning. Verily before the glorious and Almighty God, the

823 Distributor of Justice, acts are not regarded.

Verse.

Wherever Thy favour is, there it is,

What is not done is as done, and what is done is as not done.

On 10th Ābān, M. Mozaffar Šafavī died. Muḥammad Beg Khubānī was ordered to convey his body to Delhi. As Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Anjū had been long at 'Ādil K. of Bījāpūr's court, H.M. became aware of the latter's craftiness, and issued orders to Prince Daniel and the Khān-khānān to the effect that as by God's help his mind was at ease about the imperial domains, he would, if his servants advised, come to the Deccan and by chastisement awaken the slumbering 'Ādil K. These orders were entrusted to 'Inayat 'Ullah Kitābdār. When he conveyed them to the prince, the latter sent him on to 'Ādil K., and wrote him a letter of advice. H.M. sent his turban by Muḥammad Sharīf Kūlābī for Prince Daniel and a special horse called Har Parshād. Khawāja 'Abdullah,² being dis-

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma says that this message was conveyed by Princess Shākrunisā (Akbar's daughter).

² This is the man who afterwards became famous as 'Abdullah Fīrūz Jang, and a servant of Prince Selīm

who is so often mentioned in the Tūzuk J. He left Selīm because he could not get on with Muḥammad Sharīf. See M. Hādī's preface to the Tūzuk, p. 6, and Maasir II, 777.

gusted with the evil conduct of the Prince-Royal's officers set his face towards the court, and H.M. gave him a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zāt* and the title of *Ṣafdar Khān*. He was the sister's son of *Khawāja Hasan Naqshbandī*, and was at first with Sher *Khawāja*. He did good service in the Deccan. Afterwards by fortune's guidance he entered the prince's service and became an *Aḥadī*. Gradually he rose to the rank of 1,000 and the title of *Khān*. At this time he was guided to the threshold of fortune.

One of the occurrences was the subsiding of the commotion of 'Alī Rai the ruler of Tibet. Before this it had been reported to H.M. that he by conquering the ruler of great Tibet and getting possession of much gold had become presumptuous, and raised a great commotion in *Kashmīr*. An order was given to Qulīj K. the *Ṣubah-dār* of Lahore to send a force to assist Muḥammad Qulī the governor of *Kashmīr* so that that gnat which was buzzing in the wine-cup might meet with his deserts. At this time it was reported that Qulīj K. had sent 3,000 horse and 500 *barqandāzes* (musketeers) under the command of his son Saif Ullah to assist Muḥammad Qulī Beg. When 'Alī Rai heard of the arrival of the troops, his heart failed him and he fled without fighting. The imperialists pursued him as far as the horses could go, and then turned back. On 11th *Ābān*, Laharī Bandar was bestowed on the Prince-Royal, and a special horse called *Shāh 'Inayat* was given to Dost Muḥammad to convey to the Prince. It was settled that Prince Daniel should receive a lakh of rupis every year from the proceeds of the port of Cambay. At the request of the Prince-Royal, *Khawājāgī Fath Ullah Bakhshī* received the rank of 1,000 and was allowed to go to the Prince. Muḥammad Qulī had sent twelve swift horses, natives of *Kashmīr*, and they were produced before H.M. 824

One of the occurrences was the success of the royal arms in Bengal, the downfall of *Kedār Zamīndār*, and the retreat of the Magh Rajah. News came that *Kedār*,—who was a noted proprietor in Bengal—had joined the Magh *zamīndār* with a large fleet, and used force against the *thāna* of *Srīnagar*. On hearing of this Rajah Mān Singh sent an army provided with artillery against that presumptuous man. Near *Nagar Sūr*¹ the latter appeared with a

¹ Apparently this is a mistake for *Bikrāmpūr* which is the name men-

tioned by the *Iqbāl-nāma*. The *Iq-bāl-nāma* gives in this place an

large force and a great battle took place. The enemy was defeated, and many were slain. Kedār was wounded with bullets and was flying half-dead. The brave troops followed him and captured him. There was a little life in him when he was brought before the Rajah, but he soon died. With his death the flames of disturbance in Bengal were extinguished. After this, Rajah Mān Singh -- who had made preparations in Bhawāl for attacking 'Uṣmān heard of the commotion raised by the zamīndār of Magh and set out to put him down. The latter did not see his advantage in fighting, and went back to his own country, and the Rajah turned back to Bhawāl to deal with 'Uṣmān. He too fled, and the Rajah's mind being now at ease and having committed the *thanahs* to the charge of able men he went to Dhāka.

825 The gracious sovereign cast an eye upon the comfort of travellers and ordered that in the serais on the high roads, refuges and kitchens should be established, and that articles of food should be in readiness for the empty handed travellers so that when they had undergone the fatigues of journeying and had sat down to rest they might put food into their mouths without trouble.

Mīr Gadai the son of Abū Turāb received the rank of 700 and 400 horse, and Mīr Martazā that of 2,000 *zāt-u-sawār*. M. Kaiqu-bād the son of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm was put into the charge of Jagannāth in order that he be schooled in the prison of Fort Rantambhor. From bad companionship he had fallen into drinking-habits, and had committed evil deeds. This was his retribution. Shādmān and 'Abdullah the sons of the Khān A'zim were each raised to the rank of 1,500. The first was sent off to the government of Gujarat and the second to Jūnagarh. It was reported to H.M. that Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakarī who on 27th Āzar of this year had been sent off on an embassy to Persia had waited upon Shāh 'Abbās when he was besieging the fort of Irwān (Erivan). The Shāh had received him with great honour, and had ordered a large sum of money to be given to him and had taken the letter of the Shāhin-shāh in his two hands and placed it on his head. He had asked

account of the Magh Rajah, and describes his white elephants, etc. It states that in the battle near Bīkrām-

pūr many Feringhīs and Ikālī (query Portugālī) were killed, and that Kedār received two wounds.

“How is His Majesty my Shāh Bāba? (royal father). In what condition is he?” The presents had been spread out and he had personally inspected all of them. He had for two or three days sent the ambassadors of Garjistān and the Sirdārs of Turkestan and other strangers to inspect them. He had marvelled at beholding these rareties which were objects of admiration to all.

CHAPTER CLII.

BEGINNING OF THE 49TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE
YEAR FARWARDĪN OF THE FIFTH CYCLE.

On Monday, 18th Shawwāl 1012, 11th March, 1604, after the passing of 8 hours 20 minutes the Sultān of day entered Aries and the 49th year sounded joyfully in the ears of mortals.

Verse.

.

826 In the beginning of this year a son was born to Prince Sultān Daniel by the daughter of Dalpat Ujjainiya. The world's lord gave him the name of Farhang Hūshang. As Prince Sultān Selīm had asked for a robe of black fox—which Zain K. Koka had presented—it was granted to him together with another of white fox. At this time the thanks of the Prince were received together with congratulations on the festival of the New Year. Ḥasan Qulīj's *manṣab* was increased to one of 300 *zāt* and 500 horse. M. Bah-rām, M. Anfās, M. Ism'aīl and M. Ḥaidar the sons of M. Mozaffar Ṣafavī were raised to suitable *manṣabs*. It was reported that as Takhta Beg had inflicted severe chastisement on the 'Alīzaī tribe and was returning after capturing some of them, the Afghans had blocked the road in the defiles, and that the imperialists had fought and killed many of them.

As there were again reports of Prince Daniel's drinking, H.M. became very angry and sent off Ḥakīm Fath Ullah the son of Ḥakīm Abū-l-fath in order that he might reprove the prince and restrain him from his fatal propensity. After some days, a swift horse named 'Ayās¹—which was one of the presents of the ruler of Persia—was sent off for the prince.

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma has 'Abbās and this is probably right.

One of the occurrences was the death¹ of the mother of Sultān Khusrū. She was the daughter of Rajah Bhagwant Dās Kacwāha. As the Prince Royal always behaved improperly to her, her mind became jealous and she killed herself by taking opium. H.M.—who was very fond of Sultān Khusrū—was grieved at this event.

The Rai Rayān was exalted by the title of Rajah Bikramājīt. In gratitude for this favour he presented² two elephants and some other things. Qāzī ‘Izzat Ullah and Nād ‘Alī Beg Maidānī came from Kabul and did homage. Khawāja Raḥmat Ullah was appointed Bakhshī of Kabul, and Malik Aḥmad was made accountant of the buildings in that city. Zāhid the son of Ṣādiq K. received his father’s title.³ Rajah Bikramājīt was raised to the rank of 5,000. S. ‘Abdur-raḥmān was sent with him in order once more to punish Bir Singh Deo Bandīla. Rajah Rāj Singh, Rajah Parhār and others were appointed to assist the Rajah. Raḥmat K., faujdār, received the rank of 300. Rajah Rāj Singh received the rank of 3,500 *zāt* and 3,000 horse, a drum, and a shawl. Tardī Beg K. had been degraded on account of misbehaviour. He was now treated with favour and received the rank of 2,000 *zāt* and 500 horse and so was raised from the dust of failure. **827**

One of the occurrences was the marriage of Prince Daniel with the daughter of ‘Ādīl K. of Bījāpūr. When the latter petitioned that his daughter might enter the prince’s harem, his request was granted, and on 29th Isfandārmaz of the 45th year Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain was sent off with the arrangements for the betrothal. When he came to Bījāpūr, ‘Ādīl K. treated him with great respect and after three years and some months sent him away with many excuses and much cordiality. He also sent off his daughter and sent M. Maṣṭāfa K. with her as her *Vakīl*. When the Khān-khānān heard of her near arrival he sent his son Īrij with 5,000 horse to meet her. He met her at the distance of several stages and brought her to Aḥmadnagar. Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain hastened off from there and waited upon the prince in Burhānpūr. In accordance with the agreement with ‘Ādīl K. he brought the prince to Aḥmadnagar.

¹ Cf. Elliot, VI, 112 and 294. In the latter extract, Jahāngīr ascribes her death to grief at the evil behaviours of her son and brothers to

himself. He gives the date as 26th Zi-ḥajja 1013 = May 1605.

² The Iqbāl-nāma says “ten.”

³ i.e. he was called Ṣādiq K.

The Khān-khānān accompanied him. On 9th Tīr the marriage-feast took place, and the lady was made over in a suitable manner to the prince's harem. At the same time Muṣṭafa K. received leave to return, and the prince went to Burhānpūr with the intention of coming to court. But excessive drinking withheld him from this privilege. When H.M. became again aware that the prince's weakness of body was increasing from constant drinking, and that he was in a very bad state, he sent a lady, in whose¹ bosom the prince had been born and grown up, and who was not afraid to speak strongly, and entrusted her with many messages of advice. He also ordered that by every possible means the prince should be brought to him.

A report was received from Rajah Mān Singh to the effect that his mind was at ease about the settlement of Bengal, and that he would spend the rainy season—when marching was impossible—in Nāzirpūr which was a choice spot and centrically situated in Bengal.

828

One of the events was the chastisement of Ḥasan the son of Shahrukh M., and the fight of the Persians with Shāh Beg K. It has been mentioned that that wicked one fled from before Shāh Beg K. to Haqcarān. At this time news came that Shāh Beg K. wished to pursue him. When he learnt that the zamīndārs of the garmsīr had in a shortsighted manner joined with the Qizilbāshes and seized the fort of Bast, he considered it indispensable to put down this commotion, and so withdrew from the presence of Ḥasan for a time and came back to Qandahār. Ḥasan in league with 'Alī K., who, by the influence of the ruler of Persia, was governor of Nikdar and Mazārajāt, gathered together a large number of men of Ghor, and its neighbourhood, and attacked the country of Zamīndāwar (?). On hearing this Shāh Beg K. hastened there with some good cavalry. Ḥasan fought an obstinate battle and then fled. Many of his followers were killed. After Shāh Beg K. had subdued Zamīndāwar he turned towards Bast, and set himself to fight with the Qizilbāshes. At this time he was attacked with fever, and had to take to a litter, and in this condition had to fight with Ism'aīl Qulī K. the governor of Ferāt who had come prepared for battle and had 5 or 6,000 horse. A hot contest ensued. Some of Shāh Beg's men behaved well, but most of them gave way and went to Qandahār. Shāh Beg K. in

¹ Apparently she was not his mother,

spite of his weakness made great efforts, and after some time reached Qandahār.

When H.M. learnt that Prince Daniel was in a bad state from excessive drinking, and that he was becoming weaker day by day, and that, though the chaste lady who had been sent exerted herself to bring him to court, shame prevented the prince from coming, he sent S. 'Abu-l-khair to bring him to court by every possible means.

CHAPTER CLIII.

DEPARTURE OF THE RETINUE OF FORTUNE FOR ALLAHĀBĀD, AND THE
TURNING BACK AT THE FIRST STAGE.

When Prince Sultān Selīm came to Allahābād, he, from bad companionship, love of flattery, self-indulgence, presumption and harshness, took to disobedience, and made many improper acts his glory. Whenever his improprieties were reported to H.M. he issued injunctions of guidance. At this time it was reported by truthful and disinterested persons that the heart of that cypress of fortune's stream had become excessively addicted to wine. He did not keep
829 his lips from the wine-cup for a moment. When he got habituated to wine, he drank more, but the intoxication was less, and so he added opium. Here a verse came to memory, and it is right to quote it.

Verse.

We cast the heart's ¹ core into the limpid tears
The wine was without effect; we threw opium into it.

At the time when a double intoxication (of wine and of opium) had taken hold of him, and when the brain was dried up, and his disposition unsettled, he for slight offences ordered unfitting, capital punishments. For instance, he had his Recorder ² flayed alive in his presence. And he castrated one of the pages (*khwāṣān*), and had a *khidmatgār* (servant) beaten so that he died. They say the record writer was in love with the page and that the page was attached to the *khidmatgār*. All three became of one mind and took to flight. A party of men who pursued them caught them and produced them while the tongues of the fire of the prince's wrath were

¹ *Suwaidāi dil*. The heart's core and also a black spot of the heart, hence compared to opium.

² *Wāqā navīs*. Apparently equi-

valent to the "story writer," or recorder of the 'Apocrypha, 1 Esdras 2, 17.

shooting forth, and the above-mentioned tyranny was practised on them. The gracious and merciful Khāqān was grieved on hearing of this atrocity and said: "We during the time of our rule have not tried to hurt an ant, and are not willing that a (dead) sheep should be flayed¹—though that may appear to be no offence. How has our honoured son had the courage to do such things? and how has he ventured to spoil what has been built up by God?" Inasmuch as world-rule does not harmonise with self-will, presumption, tyranny and immoderation, his holy heart was deeply displeased by these deeds and other wickednesses, and he thought of going hunting as far as Allahābād and of exercising justice. If the prince should cast away arrogance and receive the retinue of fortune he would pardon his offences and bring him to court in his train. If he cherished evil thoughts, he would punish him, and awaken him from his slumbers. Accordingly he gave orders for the starting of his advance-camp, and fixed the halting place at three *kos* from Fathpūr, on the bank of the Jumna. The gold-embroidered tents were pitched, and on the night of Monday, 11th Shahrīyūr, 21st August, 1604, that river of Divine wisdom, that ocean of knowledge, embarked in an auspicious hour on the boat, and sate in the ship of the Divine aid and protection. The sails were set and the anchor of purpose was raised. When he had gone a little way as there was little water the boat stuck in the sand. Nay, nay, the boat could not support the weight of the Caliphate and put its head on the ground. **830** Though the boatmen tried to move it, they could not succeed. They could not bring it from there into deep water. Of necessity he spent the night on the river. At sun-rise the officers and other grandees arrived in their boats and paid their respects. Though the awakened heart of the world's lord perceived the truth of the matter and inferred from the boat's remaining in its place that his desire (to make the expedition) was unfitting, yet inasmuch as it is not right for a sovereign to turn back without some great cause,

¹ It appears from Khāfī K. that Akbar meant the flaying of a sheep that had already been slaughtered. The horrible story is true for it is told by Jahāngīr's panegyrist M'utamid K. and by Khāfī K. It appears that

the unfortunate men were going to join Prince Daniel. Akbar's full remark, as shown in I.O. MS. 260 was that he could not bear to see a sheep flayed. The same MS. says that the third man was *nearly* killed.

he alighted at his camp, having still the resolution. Next day it rained, and it continued to rain heavily for three days. On account of the rain and high wind no one had a tent except the royal enclosure and some advance tents of a few intimate servants. The soldiers and the other men of the camp were in much distress. Suddenly news came of the illness of Miriam Makānī. As she did not approve of the expedition, H.M. did not believe in her illness. He thought her illness was feigned and did not contemplate returning. Till heart-striking news came, and trustworthy¹ persons reported that she was seriously ill and that the physicians had given up using medicines. Of necessity the loving sovereign gave up the journey and hastened to the capital to see his mother. She who had made ready for the last journey had applied her heart to God, and closed her lips to speech. He spoke to her several times but got no reply. On seeing her desperate condition H.M. fell into uncontrollable lamentation. He was helpless and made over that holy personality to the true Lord and sate down in solitude and indulged in grief.

¹ Khāfī K. says Akbar sent Khar-
ram (Shāh Jahān) to ascertain if the

illness was real, and that he returned on hearing his report.

CHAPTER CLIV.

THE DEATH OF MIRIAM-MAKĀNĪ, ETC.

On Monday, 19th Shahriyūr, Divine month, 29th August, 1604, the Queen of the Age shrouded her face in the veil of non-existence, and found repose in the sacred privy-chamber. Mankind lamented, and there was a daily-market of weeping. High and low lost self-control, and became impatient and restless. There was general regret, and tears flowed from the eyes. The inmates of the harem and the servants tore their hair and sent up cries to heaven. Who shall describe the grief of H.M. He shaved¹ his hair, moustaches, **831** etc. and cast off his turban and donned the garb of woe. He was the first to bear the body on his shoulder, and then the grandees conveyed it in turn. The cortege proceeded to Delhi.

Verse.

When H.M. had accompanied it some distance, he returned to the palace. At the end of the day, at the time of dismissing the guards, he came out with the same manner and dress and stood for a moment. The servants were astonished on seeing his tranquillity. He said to S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī: "As to-morrow is the Dusserah, tell the servants to leave off their mourning dress." Next day he sate in the private and public window (*jharoka*), and received the salutations of those who were waiting there. First, a gold-embroidered shawl was presented to the Khan Āzim. Similarly, gold-em-

¹ Asad Beg mentions in his Memoirs that when he came to court he found that Akbar and his courtiers had shaved their head, eyebrows, etc. and that he followed suit. The Zabdatu-t-tawārīkh says the death occurred on 18th Shahriyār, 1012, and that the body was conveyed to Delhi

in eleven prahars—about 24 hours. Perhaps we should read 1013 in the Zabdatu-t-tawārīkh. If the death was in 1012, then it occurred in 1603. Beale gives 29th August, 1603 as the date. Elizabeth, Queen of England, had died in March of that year.

broidered shawls were presented to all the servants from the rank of 5,000 to 1,000, to those from 900 to 500, dopatta Gujrātī shawls were given, to those from 400 to 100 embroidered (*kalābatūn*) shawls were given, and to the ranks below this, plain shawls were given. To the conspicuous Aḥadīs handkerchiefs (*mandīl*)¹ were given. The body was conveyed to Delhi in the period of eleven watches, and laid in the tomb of H.M. Jinnat Aṣhiyānī. A son was born to Prince Daniel by the mother of Ṭahmūraṣ. They asked H.M. what his name should be, and he replied, "Baisanghar." A report came from Abū-l-khair to the effect that Prince Daniel had sent off his advance-camp with the intention of coming to court. Apparently it was his advance-camp to the kingdom of annihilation! On 3rd Ābān the solar weighment took place. H.M. was weighed against twelve articles, and the skirt of the hopes of the needy was filled. As the son of Mīr Ṣadr² M'uammāī (riddle maker) was spending his days in folly, he was expelled from the empire. Rajah Sūraj Singh confined that wicked one and took him to Pattan-Gujrāt, and Martazā Qulī the governor there sent him to one of the seaports, and had his boat put out to sea (?). Dost Muḥammad, one of the confidential servants of the Prince-Royal, took refuge at the sacred threshold. He had been bail for Khwājāh 'Abdullah and when the latter came to court, Dost Muḥammad pretended that he would bring him back and thereby took protection from the wrath of the prince.

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One of the occurrences was the coming of³ Ā'badī Khwājāh the son of the Khwājāh Kilān Jūibārī from Tūrān. When Bāqī K. behaved improperly to the officers and army-leaders, and exerted himself to trouble the grandees, all resolved upon putting him to death, and to put 'Ābadī Khwājāh on the throne in his place. With this idea they sent one named Bihbūd to kill Bāqī K. That coward got his

¹ Perhaps this is the same word as mantle.

² So in text, but should be Haidar, as in Iqbāl-nāma. I.O. MS. 260 gives the name of the son, viz. Mīr Sanjar. He was a poet. See for accounts of him and his father B. 593 and 595 and n. 3. According to the M'aasir

Raḥīmī Akbar imprisoned him and afterwards he went to Bijāpūr. He died in 1021 (1612). He was from Kāshān.

³ According to Chalmers he was Bāqī's K.'s son-in-law, and the Iqbāl-nāma also seems to say so, and so does I.O. MS. 260.

opportunity one day and wanted to draw his dagger from his armpit to attack the Khān. But out of awe he became dumbfounded,¹ and an attendant informed the Khān and at a sign from him arrested Bihbūd. On being harshly treated he confessed that he was acting under instructions from Īsham Līdar² (?) and his sons, but that his courage had failed him. He revealed the purpose of the officers. Bāqī K. executed the sons of Īsham Līdar, and expelled Īsham and 'Abadī from the country. The Khawājah made a pilgrimage to the K'aaba his pretext and came to the court which protected strangers, and rubbed his face on the holy threshold—which was the K'aaba of his purpose. H.M. gave him a robe of honour and a present of Rs. 20,000. Takhta Beg Kabūli's good services were recognised, and he received the title of Khān. Rajah Siyām Singh, and Rajah Jagman Cohān were each distinguished above their fellows by receiving the rank of 1,000. The pargana of Bhangāon was given in fief to Rajah Jagman.

One of the occurrences was the arrival³ of Prince Sultān Selīm. When he heard of H.M.'s setting out for Allahābād, and of that purpose as being given up in consequence of the illness of Miriam-Mākānī, he made a desire to express his sympathy a reason for coming to court, and on Thursday, 4th Āzar, Divine month, paid his respects and cast his head at the feet of his visible God, and true Qibla. H.M. embraced the rosebush of fortune. The prince presented a diamond worth a lakh of rupīs, 209 muhurs each weighing 100 tolahs, 200 weighing 50, 4 weighing 25, and 3 weighing 20 tolahs, and 200 elephants. Payinda Muḥammad K., Makḥṣūṣ K. Khawājahgī Fath Ullah and other servants, who were with the prince did homage. The presents of each were accepted. As H.M. was displeased at the ignorance, waywardness, presumption, and self-will and other evil acts of the prince, and as although he had many times out of toleration regarded his deeds as if they had not been

¹ I.O. MS. 260 says he put his hand several times to his armpit, and so was detected.

² The word is marked doubtful, and Chalmers has Hāshim, but the Iqbāl-nāmā has Īsham. I.O. MS. 260 has Īsham Bahādur and perhaps

Līdār is only a mistake for Bahādur.

³ I.O. MS. 260 says he left behind him at Allahābād Sharīf who had been at the bottom of the murder of A.F. For Sharīf, who was son of the court-painter, see B. 517.

833 committed, and what he heard as not heard, yet the prince had from bad companionship and self-indulgence not sought to please H.M., he determined at this time to give him a lesson by putting him in prison. In this way he would awake from the slumber of presumption, and seize the thread of enlightenment, and eye-salve would be applied to those purblind, inwardly bad men who could not clearly discern the Shāhinshāh's Majesty. He therefore had the prince arrested and conveyed to the female apartments.¹ He first reproached him, and after enumerating his transgressions gave him many censures. The prince cast his eyes on the ground and answered with streaming eyes. Then an order was given to the servants to put the prince into a closet and to deprive him of wine. This was the hardest of punishments. The prince grieved greatly and was much heart-broken. His sisters came and went and sympathised with and comforted him. They also represented the contrition and repentance of the prince to H.M. After ten days H.M.'s innate kindness prevailed and an order was given for his release. By H.M.'s orders he went to his own house. H.M. wished that the prince should remain there alone. But as he was especially hopeless about Prince Daniel, he stayed the retribution of his acts at this point, and allowed him his fiefs and his rank as before.

One of the occurrences was the flight of (Rajah) Bāsū the landholder of Mau. The account of his rebellion and punishment has been already written. At this time he came to Prince Sultān Selīm and begged to be allowed to kiss the feet (of Akbar). He begged² that by the intervention of the prince he might cross the river and do homage. He used forethought and stayed where he was. When the prince put a new colour on his (own) actions in

¹ I.O. MS. 260 says Selīm was taken to the female apartments by the route of the 'ibādatkhāna. Perhaps he was imprisoned there. His servants were also put into confinement. Cf. the *Anfa-u-l-Akbar*, Elliot, VI, 247, where it is stated that Selīm was imprisoned for twelve days in a bath, meaning, I suppose, the *ghusalkhāna* or private parlour.

² As this passage is pointed in the text, it would appear as if Bāsū crossed the river and did homage. But the facts, as shown by I.O. MS 260, are different. Bāsū was too cautious to cross the Jumna, and when Mādhū crossed in order to seize him, he fled. See also *Maasiru-l-Umarā* II, 160.

the neighbourhood of the palace, H.M. privately summoned Mādhū Singh the brother's son¹ of Rajah Mān Singh and ordered him to arrest Bāsū. That past master in craft read the signs of the times before Mādhū Singh arrived, and fled.

At this time the Amīrs received promotion. Some got appoint- **834**
ments and provinces, and some got presents. The list is as follows :
(1) Āṣaf K., a 4,000 *manṣab* *zāt*, 2,000 horse, and the gift of a flag and drum, and the government of Bihar. (2) S. Farīd Bakhshī, also 4,000 *zāt* and 2,000 horse, a flag and a drum. He presented 5 valuable pearls, 4 rubies and an elephant. (3) S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān received a special shawl, and the office of punishing the Bandīlas. (4) Mīr Abīr Tūrāb the son of Aṣhraf K. received a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zāt* and 500 horse, and his father's title, and the appointment of *faujdar* of Oudh. (5) S. Bāyazīd received a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zāt* and 500 horse, and was allowed to keep the Allahābād appointment² which the Prince-Royal had given to him. (6) Payinda K. got a *manṣab* of 3,500 *zāt* and 2,000 horse. (7) Amīnu-d-dīn K. was appointed to bring Sulṭān Daniel. (8) Muqīm the Diwān-i-bīyūtāt was in the room of Āṣaf K. raised to the lofty rank of Dīwān and had the title of Wazīr K. (9) M'uz was made Diwān-i-bīyūtāt. (10) Kalyān Dās the son of Rajah Todar Mal got a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zāt* and 500 horse, and the charge of Fort Kālīnjar. (11) Iftikhār Beg got an appointment of 1,000. (12) M. Walī one of 500. (13) S. Kabīr one of 500. (14) Ṣādiq K. one of 1,500 *zāt*. (15) Khwājah 'Abdullah the charge of Kālpī. (16) Mīr Sharīf 'Amulī the charge of Bahraich. (17) Qāzī 'Izzat-Ullah one of 700. (18) Mīr Sharīf Kūlābī one of 1,000. (19) Ḥasan Beg Khākī was made diwān of Sarkār Jaunpūr. (20) 'Ābadi Khwājah got 1,000 *zāt* and 500 horse. (21) Rajah Bikramājīt Bahadurīa and Rai Mukand his uncle and Mīr Sharīf the Makhdūmzāda each got a suitable *manṣab*.

As at this time it was reported to H M. that Bāqī K. had deserted the rules of administration, and was oppressing the weak and injuring them in their property and honour, and that injustice was current in the country, he conceived the idea of punishing that oppressor and of making an expedition into his ancestral domains.

¹ He was only a brother. Mān Singh was his father's adopted son.

² That is, he was allowed to

remain in charge of the fort of Allahābād (I.O. MS. 260).

His sole idea was to rescue the inhabitants of those countries from the heat of the sun of oppression and to bring them into the shade of equity, and under the garb of world-conquest to worship God. As the Khān-khānān, Rajah Mān Singh and Qulīj K. the great officers of the State were not in attendance, he summoned each of them to come quickly and to deliberate profoundly about the expedition (īsiq = yāsāq) against Tūrān. Inasmuch as the Khān-khānān was leavened with 100,000 wiles and stratagems he represented¹ that the affairs of the Deccan were very important and that he therefore chose to remain where he was. Thus he sought remoteness from the blessing (of waiting upon Akbar). Rajah Mān Singh came from Bengal and Qulīj K. from Lahore, but the idea and the conquest were not carried out. The juggler-sphere played another game!

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the ruler of Kashmīr.² As some of the Cak tribe who considered themselves to be descended from the ruler of Kashmīr and had an itching desire to rule and were stirring up strife there, Muḥammad Qulī set himself to put them down, and proceeded to punish the ruler of Kishtwār who was protecting them. When he came to the mountains of Kishtwār, he sent ahead his son 'Alī Qulī with a few experienced men. The ruler of Kishtwār from foresight sent agents and breathed submission and obedience. He took promises (of safe conduct) and came and waited upon 'Alī Qulī, and brought animals of the chase, representing that it was tribute. He promised that he would not give the Cak rebels a footing in his country, and that he would at all times be loyal and exert himself in putting down the sedition-mongers. Muḥammad Qulī, having had his mind relieved about Kishtwār, proceeded to punish the Caks who were in the mountain of Marū. Though the sun was then in Libra, and the hills were covered with snow, and the roads destroyed, yet he courageously advanced on foot and came to the top of the pass. He fought a battle with Aliyā Cak and Ḥusain Cak and was victorious. These two escaped with great difficulty. At night-time Zaida, a proprietor, joined with the fugitives and made a night attack upon the imperialists. The fight went on till sunrise, and when it was

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma gives an abstract of his opinion. Apparently he was not asked to come in person to advise.

² So in text, but apparently a mistake for Kishtwār.

day the ill-fated ones went off. Muḥammad Qulī dug a trench round the camp and cautiously waited, and used threats and promises to the rebels. Some made treaties and came to Muḥammad Qulī, but Aliyā Cak, Ḥusain Cak, Zaidā, Jabbārī and others prepared for battle. Muḥammad Qulī set out against them. The rebels sheltered themselves behind rocks and made a strong fight, but were defeated, and the imperialists proceeded to their houses and set them on fire. After thoroughly defeating them they returned. Next day Payindā Beg the brother's son of Muḥammad Qulī attacked them with fresh men and reduced them to extremity. Zaidā came in and waited upon Payindā, and made protestations of service; and sent his son with some animals of the chase to Muḥammad Qulī, and promised that he would not again stir up strife, and that he would not assist the rebels. Similarly, most of the **836** *zamīndārs* submitted, and gave up their sons as hostages. Muḥammad Qulī Beg returned victorious to the city.

Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Anjū arrived from the Deccan and did homage. Mīr Muḥammad M'aṣūm Bhakkarī—who had gone on an embassy to Shāh 'Abbās—returned and produced a letter from the ruler of Persia, and one which the Shāh's aunt had written to Miriam-Makānī.¹

¹ I.O. MS. 269 states at the end of this chapter that the pargana of Caund was assigned to Rajah Mān

Singh in order that he might by its revenues provide for the maintenance of the fort of Rohtās.

CHAPTER CLV.

BEGINNING OF THE 50TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT
THE YEAR ARDĪBAHISHT OF THE 5TH CYCLE.

On the night of Saturday, 28th Shawāl 1013, 11th March, 1605, after the passing of 4 hours, 40 minutes, the world-warming sun illuminated the magic-house¹ of Mars (Bahrām) and the 50th year of the reign of the world's Khāqān commenced. The palace was decorated according to the yearly custom and the gates of joy and pleasure remained open till the sun had attained its degree of exaltation (sharf), and there were festivities. The officers presented their offerings and the world attained its desires by the justice and liberality of the sovereign. Tardī K. was exalted by getting a *manṣab* of 2,000 *zāt* and 500 horse, and a present of five *lakhs* of *dāms*. Raḥmat K., Faujdar, received a *manṣab* of 1,500 *zāt* and 600 horse, Partāb Singh 1,000 *zāt* and 500 horse, Ḥakīm 'Alī 3,000 *zāt* 200 horse, Sakat Singh 1,600 *zāt*, 300 horse, Kishak Bahādur 500 *zāt*, 50 horse. During this feast Prince Sultān Selīm presented one elephant, and Prince Daniel sent the elephant Gajpatī and two other² elephants. They were accepted. It was reported by S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān and Khwāja 'Abdullah that Ondca³ (Orca) had been taken and that Bir Singh Deo had been severely defeated, and had with great difficulty escaped with a few others from the battlefield. Amīnu-d-dīn K. reported that the prince had conceived suspicions and that he could not come to court so long as the Prince-Royal was there. The *manṣab* of Rajah Rāj Singh was made 3,000, Ḥamza Beg got a *manṣab* of 1,000 and Mīr 'Abdullah one of 300. Rajah Rāj Singh reported that he had suddenly come upon Bir Singh Deo and had killed many of his followers. He (Bir) had
837 saved himself after being wounded. Bhao Singh, the son of Rajah

¹ Aries is one of Mars's Houses.

² Female elephants. I.O. MS.

³ "The strongest fort in India.
I.O. MS.

Mān Singh, obtained a *manṣab* of 7,000¹ *zāt* and 500 horse. Mīr Jāmālu-d-dīn Ḥusain presented some jewels and other things from the Deccan, and they were all accepted. Ḥusain Qulīj produced 20 horses as *peshkash*. Rām Dās Kachwāha received a *manṣab* of 2,000 *zāt* and 200 horse. Salbadī got one of 700 *zāt* and 400 horse. Saiyid Aḥmad Qādirī got one of 450 horse. Aminu-d-dīn one of 500, and 150 horse. Ḥakīm Moẓaffar 1,200 horse.

¹ So in text, but must be a mistake for 1,000. It is clear from the Iq-bālnāma the *haft* in text is a mis-

reading of *manṣab* in the original i.e. Iqbālnāma.

CHAPTER CLVI.

DEATH OF PRINCE DANIEL.

That wine-bibber did not hearken to the counsels of the Shāh-inshāh, and however much H.M. restrained him from such fatal doings, he, inasmuch as he had formed the habit, sacrificed himself to wine, and listened not to advice. As H.M. had appointed undaunted guardians who took care that he should not be given wine, he plotted with his private servants and went off on the pretext of hunting. Those ignorant friends put some wine into gun barrels and some into the entrails of cows and put it under their clothes and wrapped round their waists and in the field conveyed it to that infatuated one. He put his foot upon his soul, and washed his hands of life, and boldly drank. He took no thought of his eternal ruin, and gave not a glance at his youth and his own destruction.

Verse.

What thought of headache has the devotee of wine?

Gradually his chief members and especially his brain became entirely upset, and he got severe pains and became very weak, and his constitution failed. His veins and members became benumbed, and he gave up food. No other word but wine passed from his lips. For forty days he lay in bed, and on Saturday, 28th Shawwāl, 11th March, 1605, he died¹ while longing for wine. He spent 33 years and 6 months in this world, and having drunk the wine of life he fell into the crapulousness of death. He left three sons, viz. Tahmūraṣ, Hūshang, Bayasanghar and four daughters, S'aādat Bānū,² Būlāqī Begam, by the daughter of Qulīj K., Māhī Begam, the sister of Hūshang, Burhānī Begam, the sister of Tahmūraṣ. The Prince was wonderfully

¹ The Iqbāl-nāma says that with the exception of the last year of his life the Prince always abstained from wine during the month of Ramṣān.

² Her mother was Sultān Khwajah's daughter. (Iqbāl-nāma.)

attached to Jānān Begam, the daughter of the Khān-khānān. That excellent and faithful lady became inconsolable after this catastrophe and wished to go to the other world with the prince. She did not get this boon, and submitting to the prohibitions and 838 advices of others she remained in this abode of sorrow. But¹ she was consumed with grief for the departure of the prince. She lived for many years but till her last breath, each day of her widowhood was the first day. There were some wicked persons who secretly conveyed wine to the prince and who seeing their own good in his harm knowingly conspired to kill that drunkard. By the Khān-khānān's orders they were imprisoned. The first was Shamsī, the brother's son of Khawajagī Fath Ullah, the second was Murshid,² artilleryman, the third 'Alī Beg Nadīm, the fourth Mubārak Koknārī, the fifth Shujā' the son of Ghīūr Beg Kābulī. There were also three eunuchs and two barbers. Three days afterwards, the well-wishers of the prince—whose hearts were lacerated—killed the whole of that crew by sticks and stones, clods³ and kicks. When the fatal news reached H.M., owing to his perfect observance of the Divine Will, there was no upset in his disposition. But who can estimate his grief?

¹ The text calls her Khān-khānān Begam but her name really was Jānān Begam (the beloved lady). The remark in the text about her last breath shows, if proof were needed, that Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ or Inayat Ullah wrote after the Iqbāl-nāma for in the latter, she is mentioned as still living. The Iqbāl-nāma says that she was burnt from head to foot with the scars of separation and that she always wore cotton, and the text evidently copying from this, says apparently, that she burnt herself from head to foot with scars. I do not know if this is metaphorical or if it means that she really burnt marks on her body. Probably the latter is meant for it was a practice with

lovers to burn themselves on the hands and breast, and Bābur says his father had such marks *n'al u dāgh*. (The passage does not occur in P. de Courteille or Erskine, but is in the Turkī). See Vullers s.v. *n'al* and *dāgh*. Jānān is not mentioned in I.O. 260, nor does it give a list of Daniel's children.

² Cf. Price's Jahangir 47, where it is said that it was Murshid Qulī who brought the spirits in the barrel of a fowling piece.

³ Kisht but Iqbāl-nāma has fists, *musht*, and this is right. See I.O. 260 which adds the picturesque touch that the beating took place at the instance of Daniel's wives.

The presents of Qutb-ul-mulk, the ruler of Golconda, consisting of 30 elephants with gold and silver equipments and other ornamented instruments and the rareties of that country were produced before him. Qulīj K. had sent 20 horses from Lahore, and they were shown to H.M. Hāshim K. presented four elephants. An elephant was presented to 'Abādī Khwājah. From the report of Khwāja 'Abdullah Şafdar K. it appeared that as Bir Singh Deo had thrown poisonous plants, etc. (zahrygiyā, aconite?) into the wells near Ondcha, many men had died of fever in the course of a few days. He could not remain there and so he had left the fort and the buildings¹ that had been erected and gone elsewhere. That great officer, Rajah Mān Singh, arrived from Bengal and did homage. He tendered 1,000 *muhurs* and Rs. 12,000 as a present. Nūran Qulīj and others who had accompanied the Rajah did homage. Yūsuf, the son of Husaīn K. (Tukriya) received the distinguished *manṣab* of 2,000 *zāt* and 300 horse. The graciousness of H.M. desired to show incalculable kindness to the Prince-Royal. With this view he, without informing any one, entered a boat and went to the prince's quarters. The prince received him with the step of devotion and made the dust of H.M.'s feet his eyesalve, and opened his lips in thanksgiving. After one *pahar* H.M. returned to his palace. Rajah Mān Singh brought numerous elephants from Bengal. 839 Sharīf K. Kabulī received a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zāt* and 500 horse. Nūran Qulīj presented 19 elephants. The charge of Jaunpūr was made over to him. As Rajah Rāj Singh had exerted himself very much in the matter of Bir Singh Deo Bandīla and had driven him into vagabondage, H.M. had regard to his good service and exalted him to the *manṣab* of 4,000. Farīdūn Barlās received a *manṣab* of 1,500 horse. On 5th *Shahrīyūr*, 15th August, 1604, Divine month, Sakīna² Bānū Begam, sister of M. Hākīm, withdrew her countenance

¹ Apparently, what the Iqbāl-nāma says and which is probably correct, is that 'Abdulla reported he had left the fort after destroying it and its buildings. That this is so is clear from I.O. MS. 260 which says distinctly that the fort and its buildings were levelled with the ground "ba

khāq tīrā bārabar sakht. The *tartīb* of text must be a wrong reading. The MS. adds that the officers reported that 1,000 men had died in fourteen days.

² Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh Cūcak. wife of Ghāzī K.

under the veil of non-existence. On the 16th, the province of Bihar was assigned to Khan Ā'zim M. Koka, and on the same day Prince Sultān Khusrū received a *manṣab* of 10,000,¹ a drum and a tuman-togh (standard). Rajah Mān Singh received a *manṣab* of 7,000 *zāt* and 6,000 horse, and the charge of the guardianship of Prince Sultān Khusrū. The *manṣab* of Mahā Singh, the grandson of Rajah Mān Singh, was fixed at 2,000 *zāt* and 300 horse. An order was given that the *diwāns* should manage the affairs of the kingdom in accordance with the advice of Prince Sultān Selīm, and that his seal should be affixed to the grants of the officer's *manṣab*. On 14th Mihr, Divine month, S'aīd K. did homage along with his son and also Abu-l-qāsim Namakīn.² M. Ghāzī, the son of M. Janī Tarkhān, came from Tatta and did homage. He offered choice presents. On the 18th M. Ghāzī and Abu-l-baqā Uzbek were each presented with a jewel and 'Abdī Khwajah received a dagger.³

¹ Text has 2,000 but Iqbāl-nāma has 10,000, and this is likely right, for Khusrū was a *manṣabdar* of 5,000 in A.F.'s life-time.

² The text wrongly makes Abū-l-qāsim his son. S'aīd K.'s son was S'aad Ullah. See M'aasir III. 346 and I.O. MS. 260 which gives the son's name.

³ The text omits the name of M.

Shāhrukh from the list of those who received honours. I.O. MS. 260 says he received a *manṣab* of 7,000, and 5,500 horse. It also says that Hamza Beg, mentioned at p. 836 as getting a *manṣab* of 1,000, received one of 1,500. According to I.O. MS. 260 it was a dagger that Abū-ul-baqā got, and this is probably correct.

CHAPTER CLVII.

Of the last events and of the final catastrophe, namely the soul-piercing, sense-destroying, heart-rending occurrence of the passing of the empire-adorning Khāqān, and of the march of the caravan-leader of Truth's highway from this perishable caravansarai to the Holy world and to the everlasting kingdom.

In the beginning of winter, when the air was cold, and the constitution became torpid.

Verse.

840 From the cold blasts of Mihrgān (autumn)
 The life of the garden congealed,
 Recuperative powers remained imbedded,
 There was no start of vegetation,
 The rose was bared of her silken kerchief,
 The hearts of the trees were congealed,
 The rose garden (*gulzār*) was congealed into clay (*gil*),
 The hundred lamps of the house of mourning died out,
 In the garden the glory of the jasmine faded
 As when the face of the moon is eclipsed,
 The market of flowers and spring broke up,
 The world's grandeur was dissolved,
 Both the tulip's diadem was reversed
 And the cypress's standard laid low.

The wind of autumn blew on the house-garden of world-rule, and the cold blast of Mihrgān passed over the rose-garden of fortune. The ever-vernal flower of the parterre of sovereignty was touched by the hand of decay, and the verdant tree of the garden of the Caliphate lost its foliage. Why should I not speak plainly. The throne-adorned, the world's fortune withdrew his skirt from realm and clime. The sitter on the *masnad* of glory shook out his sleeve over throne and diadem. The world-lighting luminary which, contrary to the sun and moon, shed his light day and night, became in a

moment dark, and the constellation of fortune, the centre of the world's light, which, contrary to the fixed stars and the planets, bestowed its rays night and day, suddenly became extinguished. The sound of the drum of dominion which for years had filled the spheres with joy, at once ceased. The notes of the flute of joy, on hearing which Venus used to dance with joy during the night-time, altogether died away.

The account of this liver-burning, heart-melting catastrophe, which is another name for the grief of time and the terrene, and the despair of men and animals, is as follows. On 12th Mihr, Divine month, 22nd September, 1605, a change occurred in the holy constitution which had given equability to thousands of winters and springs. A great mistake was committed by Ḥakīm 'Alī in spite of his pretensions to medical knowledge. His ignorance was clearly manifested. For eight days he used no remedy. The weakness became great and the illness became powerful. The disease became a bloody flux, and there was a great illness. At this time the foolish physician thought of applying remedies! But from want of knowledge, every medicine which he used to check the disease, assisted it. He had shown similar slackness in the treatment of that learned one of the age, Shāh Fath Ullah Shīrāzī. In these days H.M. said to him on one occasion by way of reproof, "We raised you from the position of a dervish to lofty rank though you had not performed any service, with the idea that one day you would be of use to us. In the end the opposite has appeared." Thereupon he remembered that wise man of the age, Ḥakīm Abu-l-fath Gilānī and the Galen of the time, Ḥakīm Miṣrī, and lamented over the deaths¹ of those two famous ḥakīms. The following lines apply to the condition of H.M. at this time.

Verse.

841 Bid the druggist close his shop,
 I've tried his drugs a thousand times,
 Remove the doctor's forefinger that the sick man
 May cease chiding, and the pulse will remain calm.

¹ On a former occasion the courtiers drew from the deaths of two famous physicians the comforting

augury that Akbar would never be seriously ill again!

The antidotes do the work of poisons,
 Methinks the asp thereof has got new life,
 If it is a star's disk break it into clay,
 If it is prophets' balm fling it into the dustbin.

The treatment of that physician produced no effect. The debility gradually increased, and matters became critical. In such a state of things that lord of the spiritual and temporal world came out every day with perfect composure at the *Darsan*¹ and accepted the salutations (kornish) of his subjects. Those waiting in expectation at the gate of the Caliphate gathered light from the sun-rays of the august countenance. When the pangs of weakness seized upon his mental and bodily powers, he spent several days in bed. On the nineteenth² day the physician became confounded at his treatment, and withdrew his hand from applying remedies. Either he was afraid of the monarch's wrath or he feared the inmates of the Harem who were showing great impatience. He withdrew from H.M., who was in a state of extreme weakness, and put himself under the protection of Shaikh Farīd, the Mīr Bakhshī. Bravo for the stony-heartedness of that Amīr who applied himself to his protection! On the eve of Wednesday,³ 4th Abān, 15th October, 1605, H.M. with-

¹ Text Darshan. See Blochmann, 157. Also called the *Jharokah* or window. The emperors used to show themselves there to the people, but Aurangzeb abolished the practice.

² The 19th day of the illness counting from 12th Mihr and not the 19th day of any month. The physician did nothing for eight days, then he gave medicines for ten days and then he ran away.

³ I.O. MS. 260 has Monday, 12th Ābān equal to 20th Jamādu-al-awwal, as the date of the commencement of the illness, but Ābān must be a mistake for Mihr which occurs in text. 20th Jamādu-al-awwal, 1014, corresponds to 23rd September, 1605. The physician, Ḥakīm 'Alī, is said not to

have administered any medicines for eight days. He began treating Akbar on the ninth day of the illness, and continued to do so for ten days. At least, this is what MS. No. 260 seems to say.

The root of the confusion about the day of Akbar's death seems to be the *Iqbāl-nāma* which, in my copy at least, begins by saying that Akbar fell ill on 12th Ābān. Then it gives the date of death as Wednesday night, 12th Jamādu-al-akhir, 1014, corresponding to 4th Ābān. Consequently the 12th Ābān above mentioned must be a mistake for 12th Mihr. Akbar died on a Tuesday evening for that is what is meant by the night of Wednesday. 12th Jama-

drew the shade of his heavenly self from the heads of mortals, and spread out the shadow of his beneficence over the heads of the celestials. The men of this world sate down in the dark days of failure, while the inhabitants of the other world attained their long-cherished wishes. The report of this disaster caused lamentation in heaven and earth. There was a daily-bazaar of consternation and terror, and sorrow and affliction became active. Darkness took possession of the earth, and the evening of sorrow fell upon mortals in the mid-day of contentment. The lightning of labour and sorrow struck mankind's harvest of joy. The stone of violence and oppression smote on the vases of the hearts of the sincere. Good God! What a personality he was! He was pure from every stain and endowed with all perfections. What a jewel free from every blemish and pure of every stain! Lofty prestige, a happy horoscope, an awakened fortune, complete auspiciousness, a daily-increasing dominion, mounting victoriousness, pleasant friendship, a love of pleasantries, friend-cherishing, foe-destroying, a kingdom-bestowing liberality, a might that overthrew enemies, a world-embracing majesty, a world-conquering resolution, a firmness and gravity together with the working of conspicuous miracles, lofty converse, an illuminated mind, a God-given understanding, an enlightened soul, a taste for knowledge, an expounder of mysteries, and an opener of mysteries, conquest over difficulties, etc., etc.—all these were gathered together in that sublime personality and created astonishment among the lords of insight.

Verse.

The scrutineers who counted all the perfections
 Gave him the title of the Imām of the Age,
 He is the spiritual and temporal lord, the unique Akbar Shāh,
 Who made the poor, lords of fortune,

du-al-akhir is equal to 15th October, 1605, and was Akbar's birthday. I.O. MS. 260 and Chalmers have Āzar instead of Ābān, but this is evidently a mistake caused by the *Iqbāl-nāma* giving 12th Ābān as the beginning of the illness. I.O. MS. 260 says Akbar died after one *par* and seven hours of the night. Fer-

ishta has 13th Jamāda-s-sānī. The *Takmīla-i-Akbarnāma*, the work which appears at the close of the *Bib. Ind. Akbarnāma*, does not mention that Akbar's illness and death were due to agitation produced by a quarrel at an elephant-fight between the servants of Jahangir and Khusrū. See Elliot VI, 168.

That elementary mould has gone, from whose spirit
The pure-hearted gathered eternal truths.

On the morning of Wednesday, which deserved to be called the evening of evil and the black night of grief, the pure body, which had been cleansed and washed by the limpid waters of the Divine Mercy, was further bathed according to the custom of mortals, was placed on a bier and brought out from the fortress of Agra. The smoke of sorrow ascended from the people on beholding the unwelcome sight, and there was a storm of weeping. Their hearts were deeply wounded, and burning sighs arose from every quarter, etc., etc.

(Verses.)

843 All the Amīrs and nobles cast dust upon their heads and accompanied the corpse, weeping and lamenting. The sacred garden (Rauza Muqaddas) known as Bihishtābād was fixed upon as his resting place and the earthly mould was committed to the earth. Mortals call residence in this inn of five days, Life, but who can comprehend the courts of eternity. For awakened spirits of this calibre the use of the word Death is a mistake.

Verse.¹

They ne'er died nor will die those who are spiritual,
Death is but a name in reference to them.

The following words give the date of H.M.'s death. *Wafāt-i-Akbar shud*, "The death of Akbar occurred," or, "There was a mighty death." The following remarkable lines also announce it.

(Here a number of lines are given which are chronograms of Akbar's birth, accession and death.)

May Almighty God preserve the wise and truth-seeing one from the false calumnies which the blind and superficial have brought against that wise sovereign who was the guide of the searchers after truth, and the Lord of the God enlightened.

(Then follows the abridged *khātima* or conclusion which I have placed at the end of the 46th year.)

¹ Faizī's couplet.

ERRATA AND ADDENDA TO VOLUME III OF THE AKBARNĀMA.

- P. 13 and elsewhere, read Sh'abān for Shābān.
- P. 14, line 13 from foot, after "yet" insert "more."
- P. 14, marginal figure 10 should be about 10 lines higher up.
- P. 16, n. 1, add "see p. 66."
- P. 27, l. 11 from foot. For Bīrha read Bārha.
- P. 28, n. 2, add "The Maḥmūd who escaped was s. Sikandar or Iskandar, and gave much trouble afterwards in Bihar." See p. 170.
- P. 28, l. 3 from foot. Excise words "made out his expedition," and substitute "joined the latter's party," i.e. sided with Lūdī.
- P. 30, Hāfiz, omen from.
- P. 30, line 2, insert comma after Bābā K.
- P. 49, n. 3. This n. probably wrong. There were more than one Naqīb, e.g. Shāh Fakḥru-d-dīn was so called, p. 50. One Naqīb was wounded, see pp. 125, 145, 422. At p. 125, one Sharīf b. Naqīb had such a beautiful voice that his reading moved A. to tears.
- P. 54, line 11, add after "Daniel there," the words "from Āmber."
- P. 71, n., for wagt read waqt.
- P. 79, n. 3, for کړ کړا read کړ کبا.
- P. 87, line 6, for "at 500" read "more than 500."
- P. 87, lines 14 and 1 from foot. Two Sohrābs are mentioned here. One is Sohrāb, cousin Ṣādiq K. of Herat, killed that day. The other is Sohrāb Turkamān. He survived and brought in Ikhti-yāru-l-mulk's head, and is mentioned later, p. 191, l. 9. For Guj-rāt read Gujarāt; and for Chāk, Cāk.
- P. 107, n. 2, for Miriam makain read Miriam makānī.
- P. 114, n. 1 and 193, Siwānā should be Siwān, d. Sāran.
- P. 115, l. 13 from foot, after the words "Mun'im encompassed him with royal favours" add "and gave him a fief in Sāran."

P. 115, I do not understand how the cutting of Pūnpūn dam could help siege. Pūnpūn joins Ganges at Fatwa, 7 miles east Patna. Gaya Gazetteer says, p. 8, chief dam is at Kusrah in Jahānābād. Apparently the dam was cut when A. arrived, for the river was then in flood, p. 142.

P. 133, l. 12 from foot, for vigorous read rigorous.

P. 150. Perhaps Gorakpūr is correct, though B. thinks Kharakpūr the proper reading.

P. 160. I see that I have misunderstood A. F.'s remarks about his entry into Akbar's service. The sentence beginning with "As he had the pride of common place knowledge" is a mistranslation. The words *safar-i-diyār shargī* do not mean the eastern provinces, that is Bihar and Bengal. They mean the land of the East, that is Mongolia and China, and should be read in connection with the remarks of A. F. at p. 117 of the Akbar-nāma translation, and which are also translated by Blochmann at p. xii of his introduction to translation of Āīn. They refer to A. F.'s longing to go off to Tibet and China or to Persia or Goa, or rather to Cathay; see p. 114 of L. & E. beginning of 908 (1502); and are interesting, as they remind us that Bābur had a similar longing, and wished to go to China. Perhaps they both thought of the Prophet's advice to seek knowledge even in China! I would now translate the passage at p. 160 of my translation about having the pride of common place knowledge in his head, as follows: "As he (the writer) had the pride of common place knowledge in his head, the desire to go to the eastern countries grew strong in his soul, in spite of the spirit of loyalty and devotion that he cherished for his father. Though he had not the means for such a pilgrimage (*safar*), yet his idolatrous and self-conceited soul aspired after such an expedition. Also there was pride in the idol-temple of his knowledge. A desire for retirement and for seeing the world was seething in his soul. But he did not think it becoming to take such a step without the permission of his honoured father. That mine of kindness could not bring himself to bid him adieu." Even now I am not certain if I fully understand what Abul Fazl means. It is still possible that A. F.

means that his father wanted him to do as his elder brother had done; that is, join Akbar and take his chance of service, and that the self-conceited youth still wanted to go his own way, and seek for enlightenment from Lamas and Buddhists.

P. 173. Khān Jahān should be Jahān Khān; he was an Afghān, and b. Sikandar, and Dāūd's officer.

P. 174, n. 1. 435 is p. of P.T. substitute 652.

P. 193, line 9, Siwāna. This is Siwān or Sewān in Sāran d.

P. 203, n. 1, delete S.

P. 210, n. 1, delete this note and also figure 1 in line 2.

P. 212, n. 1. Delete T.R., Ross, 330 and substitute A.N. translation, vol. II, p. 40.

P. 212, line 18, for "will be given" read "has been given." The reference should have been to the second vol. A.N. p. 40 of translation. There Haidar Beg is called Hāram Beg's younger brother. Here he is called *barādar dostdār*, "beloved brother." *Barādar* may possibly mean cousin.

P. 281, for Gadā (beggar) Ālī read Gadā 'Alī.

P. 295, middle of page. Four and a half lines of declamation have been omitted here. They are in praise of Dostam, who was an early playmate of A. The lines are difficult to translate, and are also out of place. For Dostam, see Ma'aṣir U. II, p. 3.

P. 295 and elsewhere. For Ajmere read Ajmīr.

P. 295. Five lines of rhetoric about A.'s discrimination in making appointments have been omitted.

P. 305, 2 lines from foot. Ism'aīl I, should be Ism'aīl II.

P. 328, n. 1. For 259 read 376. I think I have misunderstood the meaning of several passages on p. 328. The fortunate army of page 328, and the corresponding passage in P.T. p. 232, line 3, viz. *junūd-i-iqbāl*, do not mean, as I thought, Khān Jahān's forces. They mean, I think, the imperial troops personally conducted by A., and which were expected to come to Bengal. Naulaka, I think, meant that when A. came near Tānda, she and her relatives, *mantasabān*, would appear before him. K. J., I presume, accepted her overtures, and then went back from Sātgaon to his own quarters, that is to Tānda or Sihhatpūr,

where he died in Shawwāl 986, p. 381. From Sāt-gāon he seems to have gone in the first place to Bhātī, i.e. the low country of Bengal, see p. 376. A. F., I may remark here, seems prejudiced against K. J., and says as little as possible about his exploits, and accuses him of being at heart a rebel. There are good biographies of K. J. in the Ma'āshir U. I., 645, and in the Darbār Akbarī, 703. The river Kiyāra of p. 377 of A.N. is probably the Agāra Sindūr of p. 32 of the Mymensingh Gazetteer. The Majlis of the Mymensingh inscription may be the Majlis Dilāwar or the Majlis Pratāp of A.N. 377. It is not likely to be the Pratapāditya of Jessore.

P. 385, for 1589 read 1579.

P. 393, n. 5, for Ijlihād read Ijtihād.

P. 429, n. 2, for p. 20 read p. 29; for Yrghaliq and Yūrghaligh read Farrakhpūr, i.e. s. Ghalīq K.

P. 442, l. 12. The text is *sipri shudan rūzgār-i-Moẓaffar*. This would ordinarily mean his death, but as that is not mentioned till later, perhaps what is meant is "disaster."

P. 449, top line, for 80,000 read 800,000.

P. 470, last line and n. 4. The words "outworks of the fort" and n. 4 are wrong. The word in text is *nakhastīn*, not *nakhastan*, and the passage means that the first fort was taken. In the Āin A., p. 154, Vol. II, J.'s translation, it is stated that Patna had two forts; one was of burnt or *pucka* bricks, and the other was of *kacha*, i.e. sun-dried, bricks. It was the latter that was taken. My note 4 should be expunged.

P. 472, last line. The water here mentioned was rain-water. It was September, and the country was flooded. The Māh Beg of text is the Tārullah of Badāūnī, Lowe 292, where Tor should have been Tār. "The flourishing city of Bahīra" and n. 3. I have written at length to the Numismatic editor J.A.S.B. about Bahīra, and have endeavoured to show that the proper spelling is Bhera, and that the place is probably the Bahīra or Bahrah of Blochmann, mentioned in his translation of the Āin A., p. 31, and that it is the Bahīra of the historical part of the Akbarnāma. In

Blochmann it appears as a mint-town, and probably was Shergotty in Gaya, of which the proper spelling is *Shahrghātī*, i.e. the city of the Pass. It was the pass which had to be ascended by travellers coming from Gaya to *Hazārībāgh*. *Shahr*, however, does not mean a city in the ordinary sense of the word. A. F. uses it elsewhere to mean a well-cultivated or populated tract of country. I think too that there are mistakes in Gladwin and Jarrett's translations of the passage in the account of Gaya. The precious stones, that is, the serpentine or steatite used for making household utensils, were a production of Gaya, and not of a foreign country. The word "foreign" of J. does not occur in the P.T. I am also inclined to think that the *banādar*, بنادر of the P.T. *Āin*, Vol. I, 417, may be a mistake for *banādirat*, بنادرت (see Richardson, p. 254, col. A), and that the reference is to "dealers in precious stones who keep close to the mines." I think too that the *gaj* or *kach* of B.'s *Āin*, 223, does not mean sweet limestone, but means the gypsum or steatite which *Shīrīn* may have been traditionally supposed to have used in building her palace. Though I have written to the Collectors of Patna and Gaya I have not yet been able to hear of any place called Bahīra or Bhera in either district. The Dep. Comm. of Hazaribagh tells me that in his thāna of Hunterganj there are villages called Bahera, Behari and that Bhurha in the Hunterganj is close to the Gaya boundary. The difficulty is that part of Gaya was formerly included in the district of Patna, and also that the Gaya records were destroyed in the Indian Mutiny. These two things make the search for a Gaya Bhera difficult. My belief is that Bahrah, Bhera or Bahīra is the mint-town of B.'s *Āin*, p. 31, and that it was in Gaya, and that it is also the Bahīra or Bhera of the historical parts of the A.N., Vol. III.—Probably it was Shergotty in Gaya, of which, as I have just said, the proper name is *Shahrghātī*, i.e. the city of the Pass.

P. 475, the name of the fort is not Kant or Kot. It is Kīnt or Kīt, and is spelt in the P.T. of the *Āin* II, 423, as Kōt. See also Jarrett II, 157, and B.'s note 2 to 427. It was a dependency of Rohtās. My note 1 to p. 475 is wrong. The fort is mentioned in the *Iqbāl-nāma* under the 24th year of A.'s reign. The reason why

'Arab was so savage against Sa'adat 'Alī Yār was that the latter was formerly 'Arab's ally. Apparently Sa'adat 'Alī was Khiz̤r Khwāja's s., but not Gulbadan B.'s. The Muhibb 'Alī here mentioned is the Rohtāsī one, and the Rohtās is the Bihārī one. —Do. three lines from foot; insert the word "again" between "was" and "made."

P. 489, middle of page. The passage about dogs (Yīt) wants correction. The meaning seems to be that in that year they were not to be hunted. Apparently the killing of the pariah dogs was considered a sort of duty, or at least as a sport, for we find a Pāyinda Muḥ. mentioned at p. 29, as having the title of Sagkush, or Canicide. He is also mentioned at pp. 611 and at 512 of P.T.

P. 500, n. 3, insert the word "it" after "for."

P. 508, line 2, for "that" read "the." The Persian words are *ba dastmāya mālikholiyā shādmānī mī khurd*. The passage is highly rhetorical, and seems to mean that the foolish Mīrzā concocted mirth with sorrowful ingredients. The allusion to the learned may mean that this class wished for the Mīrzā's success as he posed as the champion of orthodoxy; but more probably means that they were loyal, but foolish in wishing to go out to fight.

P. 509, n. 1, for Bāgh-i-dilkushā read "Bāghhdilgasha."

P. 511, and n. 1, for B. 114 read 165.

P. 528, for Gorkhattī read Gorakhattī. A. F.'s visit to the secret chamber is interesting.

P. 535, n. 1, for "is" read "as."

P. 572, for error read terror.

P. 578. The tank was a small one. It is a mistake to suppose that the Fathpūr lake burst. V. A. Smith's account in his Akbar is an exaggeration. In his note the word Solar should be Lunar. The day was A.'s birthday according to the Hijra Calendar, namely the 5th Rajab 990, and the 27th year of the reign. It corresponded to about 28 July, 1582. Only one person of note—a leopard-keeper—was drowned, the account in the Iqbāl-nāma is to be found at the end of the record of the 27th year, and almost

on the same page there is the notice of the murder by A.'s orders of Ma'sūm Farankhūdī, who was attacked by Iskandar Qalmāq in his palanquin. There is also the account of the Dumbhouse.

P. 582, n. 1. Though I have said that I have not found Faizābād, it really is the well-known city in Oudh. It is the Fyzābād of I.G., Vol. XII.

P. 584, delete heading (verse).

P. 636, for 14 February 1548 read 1584.

P. 642, went off with some men on a "roadless" road. Does this mean was killed? The words are *sipar-i-berāhī shud*, perhaps meaning they were trampled by elephants.

P. 645, Divine era introduced, beginning of 29th year.

P. 650, n. 1, for Banān read Banār. Tok or Thok is in Mymensingh d.

P. 677, n. 1, for doubt-thread read double thread.

P. 693, and n. 3, *aznās* should be *arnās*, destroyer of foes.

P. 694, n. 5 col. 2, for "on" read "in."

P. 705, gardens of Sirhind.

P. 708, for 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān read Raḥīm.

P. 718, n. 2, for A. F.'s son read brother. See B. introduction, p. xxiii.

P. 731-32 and Elphinstone's note 1. Elphinstone's note is unjust to A. F., and is founded on an imperfect understanding of A. F.'s words. The words as they appear in the P.T., p. 485 of Vol. III of the A.N. line 7, are *darīn shorish tā pānṣad kasrā rūzgār siprī gasht*. Elphinstone has misunderstood the force of the word *kas*, as used by A. F. *Kas* does not always mean common people or common soldiers. It has also the secondary meaning of persons of rank or otherwise notable. Thus we have the phrase *kas u nākas*—persons important, and those of no account. And this phrase has been rightly rendered in Richardson's dictionary by the words "Everybody, noble and plebeian." So too Vullers II s.v. *kas*, where two meanings are given, "vir et vir dignus, colendus, meritus."—That A. F. here means officers and other persons of rank is clear from the fact that Ferishta and others make no comment on A. F.'s mention of 500, which they certainly would

have done if they had thought that A. F.'s 500 meant common soldiers. For they all speak of the loss as being of thousands: Badāūnī for instance puts the loss at 8,000. It is true that he uses the words *kas* in the ordinary sense of common people, but this does not affect the correctness of A. F.'s use of the word in a restricted sense. Blochmann has seen the true sense of A. F.'s expression, for he says, p. 345, 500 *officers* were killed. See also his p. 204.

Pp. 735 and 760. These are two references to a famous pigeon-expert and to pigeon-flying. They should be compared with pp. 298 and 303 of the *Āin Akbarī* of Blochmann's translation. The pigeons had arrived at *Khairābād Serāi* on the west side of the Indus, and A. was so delighted at the news that he had the pigeons brought to him at Lahore before the Turanian ambassador had had his audience. The passage of A.'s letter at p. 760 is to me a little obscure, and it may be that the text is corrupt. The last sentence of the preceding paragraph, "we now are enabled through his kindness to send him" should, I think, be read, "we now are enabled to take the benefit of his (that is, *Ḥakīm Hamām's*) companionship, and to send him (*Ṣadr Jahān*).'" Then Akbar speaks of the presents he is sending, and expresses his thanks for 'Abdullah's sending *Ḥabīb* the pigeon-expert, and the birds who are famous for their dexterity in fluttering and recovering themselves after diving. The words *inti'ashu ahitizāz* appear to be technical terms of pigeon-experts.

P. 759, n. 1, for *m'azirate* read *ma'zaratī*.

P. 778, for *yarligh* read *yarligh*.

P. 810, for *Ābīn* read *Ābān*.—Do. last line, for returned read retired.

P. 811, line 11, for convey read convoy.—Do. line 19, for *Tamkīn* read *Namakīn*.

P. 812, 7 lines from foot, after instalment add "in *Allāhābād*."

P. 815, contains A. F.'s reflections.

P. 818, n. 1, for neared read reared.—Do. for *nazidīk* read *nazdīk*, and for *shādrawān* read *shadurwān*, i.e. curtain.

P. 819, n. 2, for *kājiwār* read *kājīdār*.—Do. n. 4; reference

misplaced. It refers to Qāzī Ḥasan.—Do. n. 6 (unnumbered, col. 2); misplaced. It belongs to p. 820, and the reference is to Salibat.

P. 873, footnote col. 2, for 1950 read 1590.

P. 877, for Lohan read Lohar, and for Major-dorno read majordomo.

P. 884, for Qāin Kokaltēsh read Zain Kokaltāsh.—Do. for Man read Mau.

P. 885, line 11, for Aḥamad read Aḥmad.—Do. for disgusts read disgust.—Do. after Maulavī Ḥusain add “ of Khurāsān.”—Do. for “ uttered sweets words ” read “ received soothing expressions.”—Do. n. 2, for Mahani read Makānī.

P. 895, several mistakes on this page. The Shaikh, in line 1, is apparently Shaikh Zāhid, and the spiritual s. is Shaikh Ṣafī of Ardabīl. This Shaikh Ṣafī was not connected with the Safavis, and his name is sometimes spelt Suffī.—Do. n. 4; Ḥalīma in Arabic means gentle, and perhaps was intended as the Arabic synonym of Maras or Martha, which also means the meek. Despina was the Greek name, and meant mistress.

P. 896, in Persian Zill (shadow) seems counted as having only one *l*.

P. 902, n. 2, for Gīrnān read Gīrnau.—

P. 914, n. col. 2, for *ṣūjīyāna* read *sufiyana*. B. line 1.

P. 915, n. 1, for *ban rū* read *bar rū*.—Do. n. 2, perhaps Sāv-dā is Sāvlī in Baroda.—Do. 10 lines from foot, Kūliān may be the wild tribe in W. India called Kolīs.—Do. n. 4, for Raḥim read Raḥīm. As the note says, it seems to be a mistake for zakhmī.

P. 938, and n. 1, Ampūr may be Omarpūr or Amanpūr in Sind.

P. 940, 11 lines from foot, rebels in eastern province submit.

P. 942, and n. 2; the little stars were perhaps meteors. They may have been Perseid meteors.

P. 943, n. 4, for his read has.

P. 948, line 10, for Jaīn read Jām.

P. 950, verse, for sold read bought.—Do. text, 2 lines from foot, for Dāūd Cakli read Dāūd Caktī.—Do. in heading of chapter, YĀDGĀR KUL read KAL (bald).

P. 998, n. 1, for 'Omām read 'Omān.

P. 999, Khwāja Daulat Nāzīr is not the Sherāfgan who was Nūr Jahān's husband.

P. 1000, A. enters subaqueous building.

P. 1006, for "a new aspect was given to submission" read "a new subject for laudation was given," meaning that A.'s kindness was a new evidence of his graciousness.

P. 1021, Qulij K.'s d., wife of P. Daniel.

P. 1027, important passage, as it refers to annexation of two districts in Qandahār, viz. Garmsīr and Zamīn Dāwar. The Mirzās in question are Mozaffar Husain and his family. See B. 313-14. Mozaffar was a Safavī and a grandson of Shāh Ism'aīl and a nephew of Shāh Tahmāsp. He had four brothers. S. Tahmāsp gave Garmsīr and Zamīn Dāwar to his nephews, but the Uzbegs dispossessed them. They, however, recovered possession by A.'s help. Shāh Beg Arghūn, commonly called Khān Daurān—one of A.'s officers and s. Ibrāhīm Beg (see B. 313 and 377 and the M. U., vol. I, 442-45, and A.N. translation p. 999)—became governor of Qandahār. He took part with inhabitants Garmsīr, etc., and induced M. Husain to resign and go to India. Who Muh. 'Iwāz was (mentioned A.N. 1027) I do not know. He was not the historian mentioned in B. 347. The fort he took was Terī in Kohāt.

P. 1032, A., his trial by ordeal, and n. 1, for "three horse-men" read "three-horse men," i.e. men who have three horses. The word barāwardī used in B. 231 not in dictionaries, nor does Irvine explain it. It might be rendered by "enlisted" or by "horse-breeders."—Do. n. 3; possibly *betār* is right. As it was a case of branding, a farrier might have been consulted. For methods of ordeal, see B. 205 and Badāūnī Lowe, 368.

P. 1033, Ormuz, Portuguese viceroy, sends two ostriches.

P. 1041, n. 2, in two places read "at" for "al".

P. 1043, for Sherpur Hurra read Sherpūr Murcha.—Do. 4 lines lower down; for man read men.

P. 1063, 14 lines from foot, for 'Isāk read 'Isā K.

P. 1067, for Jalpesh read Jalpes.

P. 1072, n. 1, for elephants read elephant. A. F.'s remark is witty and just.

P. 1073, cf. A.'s gibe at Qulī, J. III, 392, and also B. 34, n. 2.

P. 1085, delete words "native of Ghor." The meaning of *ghorīzāda* is given at p. 1080, n. 4. The impostor claimed to be a s. of M. Sulaimān. However, *ghorīzāda* may mean born in *Ghorī*, for there was a place of that name. See translation p. 218.

P. 1088, n. 1, for *Lain Lankā* read *Zain Lankā*.

P. 1090, account of a lunar rainbow and haloes.

P. 1139, this is an early reference to the use of bills of exchange (*hundīs*).

P. 1140, 'Īsā K.'s death.

P. 1141, top line. My translation is wrong; instead of that distinguished officer, we should understand Sultan Dāūd; *ān buzurg nuyīn* means, I think, Daniel the king's son and *Nūyīn* means, I think, Dāūd and not M. Kh. P.T. 763, line 15 means the king's son, the statement that P. D. had neglected his duties, but that A. now caressed him and sent him off. He left at the second stage, and went off to the Deccan.—Do., I do not find *Taltūm* mentioned as a seat of government. A better translation is: in old times the ruler of Berar founded the fort of *Taltūm*. *Taltūm* is mentioned in the *Bādshāhnāma*. The A.N. note says it was in the *Payanghāt* portion of Berar. See supra p. 1131 and n. 2.—Do., near end first para.; perhaps the translation is not quite correct. Instead of *nakhastīn* being rendered "in the first place," the translation should be "there were two forts"—the first, i.e. *Narnāla*, was taken by Sundar Rai. *Taltūm* was taken later.

P. 1149, insert "14th" before *Ramzān* in n. See also B. XXII.

P. 1152, 7 lines from foot, for fort read forts.

P. 1153, for *Ṣardār K.* read *Safdār K.*

P. 1169, line 18, for "the last of them had two sons" read "the first of them (i.e. *Laṭīf*) had two sons."

P. 1170, for *hawālāladārān* read *hawaladārān*.—2nd para.; the word translated "souls" is "*jāndār*." The word for creatures

is “jānwar,” and would have been better translated by the word “animals.” The word *kas* is here used for persons, and is here used for all classes of mankind.

P. 1171, session. Perhaps it would be better to translate *khatam* by “recitation” (of the entire Koran). The preposition *ba* should, I think, be translated here by “from”. It is more likely that Bījāpūr, etc., sent ambassadors than that A. did so. Moreover, the sending of ambassadors to the Deccanī rulers so mentioned a little lower down.—Do. n. 1, for Mubārak read Maqarrab.

P. 1175, for Lādū read Lodī.

P. 1224, second last line, add “son of” after “the.”

P. 1228, in title of chapter read 48th instead of 47th.

P. 1235, Laharī Bandar given P. Selīm.—Do., death of Kedār, Bengal zamīndār.

P. 1236, A.’s orders about travellers’ comforts.

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PREFATORY NOTE TO THE INDEX TO VOLUME III OF THE AKBARNĀMA.

The third volume, Bib. Ind. ed., begins in the middle of the 17th year of the reign. This is because the 30th year of Akbar's life ended then. The date nearly synchronises with that of the death of Sulaimān Kararānī, ruler of Bengal. He died in the beginning of Ābān 980 A.H. (11 October, 1572), and Akbar was born 8 Ābān, 949, equal to 15 October, 1542, and so was thirty when the volume begins.

With reference to Blochmann's note, p. 427 of his translation of Āīn Akbarī, it should be pointed out that the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī does not explicitly state that Sulaimān died in 980 A.H., and that Ferishta, who professes to copy the T.A., gives the date of Sulaimān's death as 981. Badāūnī, however, has 980, see Lowe's translation, p. 166, and there seems no doubt that 980 is correct.

I have received much help from the Index to the Persian edition, but it is a mere list, and embarrasses one by the multitude of entries. Thus, it has 84 entries under the word Agra, though nearly all are unimportant. There are only two, or at most three, worth looking up. The indexers have made their lists with considerable care, but some entries are wrong and mix up two or three persons of the same name. Some entries also are under insignificant headings, such as Rajah, Mirzā, etc.

H. B.

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THIRD VOLUME.

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- and *n.* 1. If appellation Feringhī be correct, this man probably an Armenian and father-in-law of Zu-l-Qarnain. See Jahāngīr's Mem. II, 194 and *n.* There is also an 'Abdu-l-Ḥāī of Garmsīr mentioned several times in Vol. I, A.N. In spite of authority of B.M. MS., I think the ascription of remark about Christians to 'Abdu-l-Ḥāī Feringhī must be a copyist's gloss, and that the remark was Akbar's. It is so in Bib. Ind. ed., where the characteristic expression "farmūdand" is used. This occurs also in an almost illegible MS. in my own possession. Akbar's views about the excellence of monogamy, etc., may be learnt from his remarks at p. 398 of J. III.
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Abu-l-fath Gilānī, ḥakīm, s. Mullā 'Abdu-r-Rāzzāq. He and two brothers come court, 204, Ṣadr and Amīn, 386, 432, 447, released from Tānda fort, 449, comes court and describes affairs Bengal, 454-55, appointment, 504, made Ṣadr Delhi, etc., 546, recommends establishment hospitals, 560, in charge intoxicants, 585, 599, pay increased, 687, 708, sent Swāt, 720, 728-9, 733, 746, 786, 807, 819, 825, death, 851, buried Ḥasan Abdāl, 852, Faizī's verses do. and n. 2, A. visits grave, 868.

Abu-l-Fazl 'Allāmī, author, s. Mubārak, his preface, 1-5, introduction A. and account early searches after truth, 116-19, presents commentary on Throne verse, 119, second introduction A., 160, vision of victory, 161, progress discipleship, 162-63, Fathpūr, does prostration afar off, 162, A. notices him do., success in finding at Sāmbhar milch-cows for royal children, 362,

reflections existence good and evil, 415-16, conversation with Thānesar saint, 500 and n. 3, story A.'s disciple who fell away, 519-20, ordered get officers' opinions about Kabul advance, 522, and 524-28, in company with A. visits recent chamber at Gorkhatrī, accompanies A. Jalālābād, 542, suggests register householders, 560 (orders about this seem to have been issued before, see p. 509); suggests Grecian medical treatment for A., 584, in charge wool-trade, 585, to assist P. Selim, 598, cognisance complaints, 599, promoted rank, 1000, 687, Farīdūn made over to, 716, 300 horse of author sent off, 718, lot cast for Swāt expedition results in Bīrbar's favour, 719, and n. 6, suggestions for Kashmīr campaign, 752, Delhi entrusted him and S. Quli Maḥram, 779, goes meet Sulaimān Badakhshī near Agra, 787, sent inquire about the wounded Mullā Aḥmad, 804, dispute between Sa'id k. and Todar Mal, 807, brother made poet-laureate, 814, reflections on society and solitude, wishes A. would test him, 815, with A. on ride in Kashmīr, 819, superintends cooks, 822, difficulties march, 823-24, shaking tree, 825-26, A.'s anger with son (Selīm) and author's distress, 825, visits saint, 832-33, along with A. visits saint Wāḥid Ṣūfī, author's admiration for 'Azdu-d-daulah (Fath Ullah of Shīrāz, see B. n. 33 and n. 1), 848, grieves death ḥakīm Abūl Fath, 850-51, goes Begrām (Peshawar) and Gorkhatrī (Peshawar), 855-56, death mother, 867-68, marriage son

(‘Abdu-r-Raḥmān), 878, told write prophecy of K. K.’s having three sons, 881, A. F.’s illness, 890-91, birth grandson, 908, begins teaching Khasrū, 922, promoted, 2000, 932, eventually his rank was raised to, 2500 in 42nd year of reign; Yūsuf k. made over to, 947, omen from Ḥāfiẓ do. Writes Yādgār Kal 951, distributes charity in Srīnagar, 956, f.’s death 987, 995 sends parents’ bodies Agra, 1005, A. visits him 1015; Faiẓī’s death 1033—account of his life and works 1033-1040 and notes 2, 3, etcet. A.’s accident and A. F.’s treatment 1061-63; kitchens established in cities 1063, famine do., takes omen 947, in charge ladies 1082. A. F.’s distress, 1104-7, sent Deccan, 1119, 1128, 1132, a wonderful *Nīm* tree 1139; Murad’s wives sent to court 1141, goes Aḥmadnagar 1142-43; takes Mātigarh 1163; Āsīr taken 1168, goes Nāsik; summoned by A., 1217, murdered 1218-21.

Abul-Khair A. F.’s younger brother, appointed teach. Khasrū 922 and n. 3.

Abu-l-Maālī, of Kashmīr, s. Saiyid Mubārak, 326, 409, 422, 453, 574. Perhaps some of these entries refer to another Abu-l-Māālī, the s. Saiyid Muḥ. Mīr ‘Adl of Amroha, see B. Nos. 297 and 140. There is also a third Abu-l-Māālī favourite Humayūn and put to death in Kabul in 1564. He was of Termīẓ, and generally has the title of Shāh. Altogether there seem to have been four Abu-l-Māālīs.

Abū-l-Moẓaffar (Mīr), s. Ashraf k. the No. 240, of B. in Bihar, 422,

453, 591, 623, 632, 656, 1070 (omitted in translation).

Abū Nṣr Ḥakīm, s. Sadrū Ṣūfī put to death in Persia, 897 and note 4. Abū Naṣr Farābī, death of, 987 and n. 3.

Abu-l-Qāsim Namakīn, of Bhakkar, sent bring Moẓaffar Gujarātī, 9, 170, 175, 518, 601, 701, 745, 811, 849 and n. 6, taking of Sīrvī, 1021, 1115, 1117, 1224, 1257.

Abu-l-Qāsim, diwān Gujarat, 596, 779, 903.

Abū Saīd Sultan, s. Muḥ. Mīrzā (Timurid), 843, 976.

Abū Turāb Gujarātī, (Mīr) s. Kamālū-d-dīn, sent for, p. 10, ‘Iti mād’s surety, 11, arrives court, 15, 76, account of, 305-06, returns from Arabia and brings stone, 410-12 and nn. 465, sent as Amīn, 596, 599, 610, in Deccan, 742, 910, his s. Mīr Gadai promoted, 1236.

Abyssinian slaves, arrangements for, 11.

Do. (Jujhār K.), punished for murder by being trampled by elephant, 46, 76.

Acquaviva, (Father) Italian priest, see Rudolf (the Padre Radīf, p. 254, Persian Text).

Adam, father mankind, 989.

Adam Gakhar, (Sultan), 170.

Adam, K. Batanī or Patnī, s. Faṭḥ K., 189, 191.

Do. Tājband, 13, appropriates Muni’m’s property, 229, brings order from court, 479.

Do. s., 460, 468, 998.

Aden, Gulbadan Begum wrecked at, 570 and n.

Ādat Dās Kashmīrī, his death and character, 1015.

Adham K., A.'s foster-b., death Bāqī, his elder brother, 655.

Adil Beg Kashmīrī, 944, 950, 953. disguised escapes to Deccan, 956.

Adilī, last Afghan king of Delhi, his son Hāshm killed, 143.

Adil K., of Bījāpur, ruler Deccan and husband Chānd Bībī, 296, his ambassador departs, 388, and *n.* 1, killed by eunuch, 440-41. Fath Ullah invited by Adil K., 578 and 593, 605, 891, 909, 1024, these last two entries and also the remaining references seem to refer to another Adil Khān. See Persian Index, 556, p. 844, translation.

Afāq, diwāna, 189, 191, 461.

Affat Bānū, d., Selim Sultan (Jahāngīr), born, 816, A. had rejoicings at her birth contrary to Indian usage, 816, death of, at age of, 3, 816 *n.*

Afghans, black-faced, 6, in eastern provinces, 27, 28, 34, 57, 97, 131, 140-41, 161, 169-70, great victory of Mozaffar K. over Afghans, 197-99, oppress weak in Panjab, 357, 376, 516; 37 and *n.* 1, 697, 731, 734, 777, 780-84, 792, 809-11, 812, 855, 880, 928, 934-37, 940, 956, 968, 982-83, 1009, 1021, 1026-27, 1059, 1151, 1174, 1214-15, 1222, 1238.

Afrāsyāb, ancestor Seljūqs, 1016.

Do. s. Hakīm M. 713.

Afrīdīs, Afghan tribe, 781-82, 795, 810, 928, 983, 1051.

Agam or Agham (Sind) where Shāh Beg died, 929 and *n.* 3.

Aghā Mullā, 1165.

Aghuz K., ancestor Ottomans, s. Qarā K., 1017.

Agra, the Capital. Sulaimān's guns

ordered sent there, 41, 101, A., leaves by water for eastern provinces, orders minarets put up at every kos from Agra to Ajmir, 156, appearance of spiders' webs in environs, 164, Husain Tukriya dies at, 204, officers sent inspect treasuries, 287, Qāsim K. made prisoner, seditious character citizens, 327, capital in charge Ibrāhīm and others, 779, remissions of revenue, 812, again, 875, A.'s mother leaves for Fathpūr, 880-81, Rai Rai Dās put in charge Agra and three other provinces, 924, Kesū Dās made vizier, 1029, A. resolves return Agra, 1057, Qāzī Nūr Ullah appointed enquire into tenures in Agra province, 1063.

There are 84 entries under Agra in the Persian index, but most of them are unimportant. Some relate to Fathpūr and some too, perhaps, to Aḥmadabad. A. F. does not really tell us much about the city. The P. index has it sometimes under title Dāru-l-khilāfat.

Ahadīs, a body of special servants.

A thousand were assigned to Selīm (Jahāngīr). They were part of the 10,000 cavalry bestowed on him, but received their pay from imperial treasury. See p. 998 and *n.* 3. The *h* is properly the Arabic *ḥ*, and should have one dot under, it. But according to Badayūnī A. altered the *ḥ* into *h*. See B. 20, *n.* 1. See also Irvine's Army of the Moghuls, p. 43. At p. 219 of P.T. the word is spelt Aḥadī, and the expression *yakkah-tāzān* is used as an alternative. They are also styled there sawārān-i-

khāṣa. I suspect that if A., changed the h, he did so on account of harshness of Arabic h, rather than from hatred to Arabic.

The Aḥmads.

Aḥmad 'Alī Atāliq, Turanian ambassador, 857, death of, 881, 885, 1052, 1057.

Do. Beg, Kabulī serv. M. Ḥakīm, 534, received by A., 717, accompanies Bīrbar, 770, 794-95, 809, 853, Kashmīr entrusted to, 1004, (he is B.'s No. 191).

Do. Mullā, of Tatta, author, his murder by I'ulād, 527-28.

Do. S., second s. Selīm of Fath-pūr, 62, 127, death and character, 299.

Do. Sultan, eponymous founder Aḥmadābād, 305.

Do. Sultan, of Moghalistan, known as Ālanja K., s. Yūnas, 840, 843.

Do. Sultan, s. Ṭahmāsp, 899.

Do. s. Khudābanda, or of Shāh Ṭāhīr, 1028, 1046.

Do. Maulāna 'Alī, engraves seals A.'s ancestors, 1033.

Aḥmadābād, city Gujarāt, A. marches to, 9, arrives at, 11, extent of, 12, 'Azīz Koka made governor, 13, A. arrives at 72, victory at, after nine days' ride enters city, 88, 656, besieged by rebels, 302. Khān-khānān made governor, 779, Aḥmadnagar, 108, 604-05, 740, 820, 891, 909, 1023-25, 1045-50, invested, defended by Chānd Bībī, 1046-48, 1142-44, fort taken, 115-759.

Aḥmadnagar, a place in Gujarāt, 14, note.

Āhnposh, fort, 1051, 1104, 1222.

Aḥrārī, Transoxiana saint (Khwāja Ubaidullah, 109).

Āhūbara, fort, Ahūbara in text but see translation, p. 1103 and n. 1 1148.

Aimāqs, the Uymāq of B., see his p. 371, n. 2, an Afghanistan and Central Asian tribe. See P.T. Index, p. 8. Aimāqs apparently of Mongol origin, pp. 218-19, of Turān, 666, 668 and n. 2, 670, 858, of Badakhshān, 874, 876, 'Abdu-l-Mumīn's demand for, 885, of Badakhshān, 1080, 3000, Badakhshī Aimāqs under P. Daniel, 1184 and n. 2.

Ainu-l-Mulk, (ḥakīm) of Shīrāz, brings Abu Turāb to court, 9, 10, sent bring 'Itīmād, 9, 13, 15, 62, 123, 127 (where, however, the name is Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk, and seems to be different from Ainu-l-Mulk, see n. 1, p. 464, see also B. 480 and 543. Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk was of Gī-lān, whereas Ainu-l-Mulk was of Shirāz) arrives from Deccan, 296, was a faujdār and strengthens Bareilly, 512, 513, 546, 566, caretaker of jewellery, 599, 701 (name omitted in translation), 779, where he is called bakhshī, and was in charge Agra, comes to do homage, but is at first not admitted, 886 sent meet M. Rustum, 993, death in Hindia, his good character, 1031.

Ājā, s. and heir Jām, 904.

Ajmīr, A. directs that P. Daniel be brought to him at Ajmīr from Amber, 49, prince brought there, 54, A. visits shrine at do. again,

63, do., 91, 111-13, 155, *minārs* ordered at every two miles from Agra to Ajmīr, 150. A. arrives, goes last stage on foot, 233, Siwāna, a fort in province, taken, 237, A. leaves Ajmīr 3, April, 1576, do. returns there September, 259, Dastam K. made governor of, 295, A. visits, 298, again, 303, ascends Tāragarh, 305, arrives Ajmīr, 363, do., 405, P. Daniel sent there as A.'s representative, 462, Gulbadan Begam arrives Ajmīr, 569, Ajmīr entrusted Jagannāth and Rai Durgā, 779, made over Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, 924, made over Bhārtī Chand as diwān, 1029, given in fief to Sharīf Āmūlī, 1112.

Ajmīrī, Saif K.'s war cry, 82 and *n.* 4.

Akbar, s. Humāyūn, emperor (1542-1605). Proper pronunciation is with an initial short u. In Persian Akbarnāma there is no entry in Index of A.'s name! neither under Akbar, nor 'Arsh Ash'īyanī, nor Jalālu-d-dīn, nor does the name appear in Persian Index to vol. I or II. Nor does it appear in Ayīn Akbarī P. indices as these are confined to geographical names. Praises of, 2-5, second cycle (*qarn* = 30 lunar years) of life begins middle of 17th year of reign, 5, orders Munīm K. to conquer Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, 6, decides to march Gujarāt, arrives Sirohī (Rājputāna), 7, at Dīsa (Deisa of I. G.), 8, Pattan (Nahr wāla), 8, here interviews Mīrzā K. s. Bairām and questions him about father's murder, interviews 'Itimād K. and other Gujarātī officers, 10 rioters plunder Gujarātī camp,

11, at Ahmadābād, 11, at Cambay and meets merchants, 13, sea-excursion, 14, marches against Mīrzās, 15, Baroda, 16, rapid march after leaving children in camp, 17, omen from capture of deer, 18, Sarnāl battle, 19-20, resolves take Surat, 24, and arrives there, 25, at Gopī tank, 26, Bengal affairs, 28-31, Mozaffar's arrival Surat, 36, Portuguese Christians arrive from Goa, 37, 38, Surat taken, 39-40, Sulaiman's cannon removed, 41, A. injures his hand, 43-44, Surat fort made over Qulīj K., 44, proceeds Aḥmadābād and arrives Broach, where Jujhār K. (Abyssinian) put to death for murdering Cingīz K., 46; 18th year begins, 45, arrives Aḥmadābād, 46, arrives Fathpūr Sīkrī and has interview with A. F.'s father, 55-56, undertakes conquest Bihar and Bengal, 57, officers sent off, 57-58, second expedition Gujarāt, 59, sets off on camel, 62, Ajmīr, 63, Jotāna or Cotāna, 67, list of companions, 69, Rūpsī's misconduct, 70, Aḥmadābād, 72, nine days' ride, 73, his remarks, 75, war-cries, 79, victory over Muḥ. Ḥusain, 74-87, A.'s remark to Saif's mother, 83, kills Shāh Madad with own hand, 84, puts Muḥ. Ḥusain to death, 86-87, Fathpūr, 90-92, branding regulation, 94-95, pays officers' debts, 100, A.'s opinion about circumcision, circumcision of his three sons, 102-03, criticises preacher's remark about Prophet's parents, 102, A. weighed, 103-04, Selīm sent school, 105-06, Hājī B. arrives, A.'s story about her affection for A., 107-08, honours Khwā-

ja Shahīd, 109; 19th year begins, 112, sends for soothsayer who produces encouraging verse, 131, camp crosses Karamnāsa r., 133, nearing Patna, 135, Dāūd's ambassador, his interview, A. proposes to Dāūd that they should fight a duel! 136, A. goes see Panchpahārī mounds, 137, Hājīpūr taken, 137-39, taking of Patna, etc., 140-44, at Jaunpūr, 145-47, list of officers sent Bengal, 145, A.'s views about praying for rain, 148, A. orders pillars (minārs) to be put up at every *kos* from Agra to Ajmīr, 156, building of hall of worship ('ibādatkhāna) at Fathpūr, 157 and 364, A. F. does homage and performs prostration, 160-62, Branding regulation, 165, investigation of land tenures and establishment of Record-office, 166-67, A. marries 'Arab Shāh's d., 167; 20th year begins, 181, submission of Dāūd, 183, imperial ladies depart Mecca, 203, Mīrza Sulaimān of Badakhshān comes court, 211, goes Mecca, 231, A. proceeds Ajmīr, 232, his opinion about pilgrimages, 233, walks last stage to Ajmīr, 233; 21st year begins, 235, leaves Ajmīr 3 April, 1576, 237, war against Rānā Partāb Singh of Udaipūr, 236-47, Bengal expedition, 248, visits Ajmīr, 259, A. abandons design of going on pilgrimage, and appoints a Mīr Hāj, 271, Manṣūr Shīrāzī made vizier, 273; 22nd year begins, 283, A.'s d. dies, 283, ambassador 'Abdullah king of Tūrān arrives,

296, A. visits Ajmīr in 1577, and cures leopard-keeper of his eyes by breathing upon him, 298, visits Tārāghar, 305, Abu Turāb made leader of pilgrims do., Shahābu-d-dīn made governor Gujarāt, 306, A.'s kindness to animals, 307, Panjab expedition, 310, mint arrangements, order for coining square rupees, 321, visits Narnaul saint do. and *n.* 3; 23rd year begins, 337, A.'s horse stumbles, reflections thereon, 338-39, grand hunt, followed by A.'s religious absorption, 345-48, mother's anxiety, 348, Portuguese official and wife arrive from Bengal, 349-50 and *n.* 1, A.'s keenness in inquiry, 351, fills Anuptalāo tank with money, 354, (opening of it, 374), Muḥibb 'Alī governor Delhi, 357, A. visits Ajmīr, 361, 'Ibādatkhāna meetings. 364-372, speaks¹ to learned Christians about reverence to women being part of their religion, 372, A.'s division of his time, 372-73, directs examination of treasuries, 373-74 (see also 286), death of Khān Jahān, 381, builds poor houses in capital, they were serais, 381, appointment of a Mīr Hāj (pilgrim leader), and gifts to Mecca, 383; 24th year begins, 385, Mozaffar appointed Bengal, 386, 'Azīz Koka offended and retires, 387, Sultan Murād put to school, 388, A.'s spiritual supremacy, 390, enters pulpit, 395, A. misunderstood, 396-400, last visit Ajmīr, 402, tiger reverences A.'s name,

¹ But according to B.M. MS. Add. 27247 it was Abdūl Hai the Armenian who said this.

404, A.'s piety, 406-07, and *n.* 2, war upon Feringhīs (Portuguese), 409, holy stone, 410-12, creation twelve provinces, 413, ten years' settlements, 413-14, Bihar rebellion, 415-22, Bengal do., 426-35 and 441-47; 25th year begins, remission taxes, 437, P. Daniel sent Ajmīr, 462, defeat of rebels in Bengal and Bihar, 467-81, A.'s physical strength, 481-82, special attention to Divine matters, and imitates Moghul calendar of good deeds, 488-90, expedition against Ḥakīm M. (his half-brother), 492, visits saint at Thānesar, 500, hangs innocent Shāh Manṣūr, 501-05, encamps Sirhind, 509; 26th year, 510, visits Nagarkote, 511, visits shrine Bālnāth, 513, banks of Indus, 516, accepts disciple, 520, founding of Attock do., at Gorkhātrī in Peshawar accompanied by A. F. he advances as far as secret chamber, 528, march Kabul, 529-40, return India, 541, after visiting Bābur's tomb, 542, Ḥakīm M. was forgiven, but never waited on Akbar, 542, being prevented by fear or illness, Maṣūm Farankhūdī pardoned, 540, Indus bridged by Qāsim K., 545, qāzīs appointed in cities, 546, reaches Delhi and visits father's tomb, 547, arrives Fathpūr, 548, punishes Shāhbāz K., 550 (he had lately been permitted to pay his respects, 546), death Ḥājī B., 551, makes many thousand disciples (*chelās*), 558, Maṣūm Farankhūdī's bad behaviour, 553, suggestions of officers, 559-61, collectors appointed, 561, return Gulbadan B., 569, arrival and deaths 'Abdu-n-nabī and 'Ab-

dullah Sultanpūrī, 571-72, assassination of Maṣūm Farankhūdī, 576-77 and *n.* 1, execution of Jalābī, 577 and *nn.* 1 and 2, Fath Ullah of Shīrāz sent for, 578, (arrives, 593), bursting of tank on A.'s birthday, 578-80, building of dumb house (*gang maḥal*), 581-82, M. K. made guardian Sultan Selīm, A.'s illness, 583-84, Greek medicine adopted for A., 584, Shahbāz released, 584-85, overseers appointed, 585, marriage-directors appointed, 585-86, visits Bīrbar, 587; 28th year, conquest of Bengal, 589, d. Mota Rajah saved by A. from satī, 594-96, official appointments, 598-600, Barhān-ul-Mulk comes court, 603 and *n.*, Gujarāt affairs, 607-13, marches to found Allahabad, 166-17, A.'s mother joins him, 618, embankment made on Ganges, Gujarāt affairs, 626-43; 29th year; the Bāra Bhuīāhs of Bengal, 648 and *n.* 2, Dacca affairs, 648-51, Badakhshān troubles, 652, Orissa, 653, A. saves Bīrbar's life, 654, Gujarātī affairs, 656-57, fighting in Bengal on Brahmaputra, 658-59, Arām Bānū Begum's birth, 661 and *n.* 1, Shāhrukh arrives and account of him, 662-72, conquest of Bhātī district, Bengal, 673, Selīm's marriage with Rajah Bhagwān's d., 677-78, Mozaffar Gujarātī's defeat, 679-84; 30th year, 685, settlements, Fath Ullah Amīnu-l-mulk's paper, 687-93, Bengal entrusted Ṣādiq K. 695, 'Isā K.'s submission, 697-98, revenue remissions, 699, Panjab expedition, 702, death M. Ḥakīm, 703-04, 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān of Luck-

now's madness, 708, A.'s mother arrives, 709, army for conquest Kashmīr, 715, A. arrives Attock, 717, pacification Bengal, 721-22, Yūsuf ruler Kashmīr comes court, 722-23, quarrel between Zain K. and Bīrbar, and great disaster, 727-32; 31st year, 738, A. spends three months, 12 days, in Attock, 744, A. arrives Lahore from Attock, 27 May, 1586, and resolves to make some stay there, 748, remission revenue, 749, Qāsim k. sent conquer Kashmīr, 752-53, A.'s letter to 'Abdullah K. of Tūrān, 754-61, great flood at Sirhind, 761, conquest of Kashmīr, 762-68, Kashmīr affairs, 769 et seq., legend, 771-74, M. Sulaimān's return, 785; 32nd year, 789, Afghanistan put again in charge Zain K., 790, Sultan Murād's marriage, 791, Kabul Road made peaceable, 792, Todar Mal wounded, 792-93, defeat Tārīkīs, 794-96, Yūsuf K. given charge Kashmīr, 796, Yūsufzais punished, many sold as slaves, 800, Yūsuf ruler Kashmīr sent Bihar, 801, murder Mullā Aḥmad, 803-5; 33rd year begins, 806, P. Daniel's marriage with Sultan Khwāja's d. do., the gaz Ilāhī or imperial yard introduced, 806-07 and *n.* 1, A. bitten by wolf near Lahore, 807, conquest of Swāt, 310, remission revenue, 812, a brahman allowed retire from society, A.'s and A. F.'s reflections, 814-15; 34th year begins, 816, the d. Sāid K. had a d. by Selīm S., and A. gave the child the name of 'Affat Bānu; she only lived three years; A. F. notes (p. 816) that contrary to

custom the birth was made an occasion of rejoicing, Miyān Tānsen dies to great grief of A. do., A. goes Kashmīr, 817 (and arrives Srīnagar, 827), misconduct of P. Royal, 824-25, remarkable shaking tree, 825 and *nn.* 2 and 3, description of Srīnagar, 827-28, account of rīshī do. and *n.* 5, A. visits Shihābu-d-dīnpūr, imperial ladies arrive, 829, A. makes assessment Kashmīr, 829-32, 835, A. makes long boat excursion up the Jhelam to near fountain head of river and then goes Srīnagar, Ambassadors sent Ladākh and Bāltistān, 838, Polo ground, 836, ambassador sent Tibet. A.'s illness, 838, returns from Kashmīr, visits the dying Muḥibb 'Alī Rohtāsī, 840, account Dughlat family and other descendants Chingiz K., 840-42 expedition Afghanistan, visits tombs at Kabul, 858, birth Sultan Parvīz, 859, Miriam M. arrives do., A. returns from Kabul, 861, death of Todar Mal, 861-62, ice on ground, 862, K. K. presents translation Bābar's Memoirs, 862 and *n.* 4 (about 24 November, 1589), hunting, 863-64, A. hurt by fall from horse while hunting hyena, 866, visits Abu-l-fath's grave at Ḥasan Abdāl, 868, visits Rohtās, 869, fall from elephant, 869-70, and 874, verse on the subject, an elephant indicates that his mahout had told a fib, 870; 35th year begins, 871, A. enters Lahore do., Padre Firmilūn comes from Goa, 873 and 874 and *n.* 1. Presumably real name Leon Grimon. Remission revenue, 875, 'Abdu-l-Mu'mīn's envoy drowned Jhelum, 876,

rain falls at A.'s prayer, 876-7, eclipse sun, 877-78, rain again falls at A.'s prayer, 877, A.'s mother goes Fathpūr, 880-81; A. quotes Hāfiz about two ecclesiastics drinking, 881, story about Miriam Makānī and needle-marks on A.'s foot. Turānian ambassador arrives, 885, Shahbāz imprisoned, 885, A. saves pigeon, 886; 36th year 889, Persian ambassador arrives, 893, A.'s mother comes from Agra, 901, Sharīf 'Amulī gets four great offices, 916, A. arrives Lahore, 917, battle with M. Jānī and the Sindhians, 917 (and 929), birth Shāh Jahān, 921, capture Umarmkot, 924, prayer causes rain, 925; 37th year. 927, conquest Orissa, 933, Jānī Beg makes peace, 938, epidemic illness, 939, old epidemic in Cingiz K.'s time cured by henna, 939-40, Orissa rebels submit, 940, A. proceeds Kashmīr, 942-43, disturbances there, 944-46, Yādgār seditions, 945, Qāzī 'Alī killed, 946, conquest of Jūnagarh and province of Sorath, 948, end of rebellion, 950, Yādgār put to death, 953, many victories, 955, A. in Srīnagar, 956, visits saffron fields, 957-58, A. returns India, 959, at Wular Lake, 960, end of Mozaffar Gujarātī's career, 962-65, return Lahore, 966, A.'s escape from accident, 967; 38th year begins, 971, Moghul regulations, 974, Mīrzā Koka sails to Mecca, 979-82, Shahbāz released, 985, danger of P. Daniel, 994, 115 Kashmīrī porters lost in snow, 997; 39th year begins, 998, A. enters subaqueous chamber, 1000, arrangements about coinage, 1001, ship built on Rāvī

do., M. Koka returns Gujarāt, 1004, death of Nizāmu-d-dīn, historian, 1005, M. Koka's audience, 1006, letter to king of Persia, 1008-14; 40th year begins, 1023, arrival of caravan from Goa, several Christian fathers in it 1027, twelve diwāns appointed 1029, trial by ordeal, 1032, new seal made, 1033, death of Faizī, 1034-40, A. visits F. on his death-bed, 1036-38; 41st year begins A.H. Rajab 1004 (March 1596), 1049, letter to 'Abdullah K. of Tūrān, 1053-58. Selīm married Zain K.'s d. 1058-59, A. succeeds in stopping rain, 1060, gets rain to fall, 1061, descendants of Hāfiz appear do. and furnish an omen. A. informed by a deer do. and, 1062, P. Daniel's mother dies, 1063, 'Isas' defeat, 1063. Famine, 1063-64, ship built, 1066. Account Kuch Bihar, 1067-68 and 1081, Shahrukh's rank increased, 1069, A. makes fresh divisions of his time, 1019, death of Rāna Kīka do. Deccan victory, 1070.

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Forty-seventh year, 1206, Jahangīr turns back at Etawah, 1210 and *n.* 2, 'Ambar Jeo's defeat, 1212, taking of Jammū, 1213, Bengal successes do. A. F. murdered, 1216-23, see 1220 *n.* 47th year, 1228, 47th is a mistake for 48th, troubles about P. Daniel, 1228, Bengal occurrences, 1231, Jahangīr's misconduct, 1233, Bengal successes, 1235.

Forty-ninth year begins, 1238, suicide of Sultan Khasru's mother, 1239, P. Daniel's marriage do. A.

sets out for Allahabad, but returns, 1242. Death of Miriam Makānī, 1245, Selim returns to his father, 1247, put under arrest, 1248, promotions of officers, 1249, Kashmīr troubles, 1230, letter from Shah 'Abbās's aunt written to Mīriam Makānī, 1251, 50th year begins, 1252, P. Daniel's death, 1254, his widow's sorrow, 1255, death Sakīna Banu half-sister of A., 1256. Akbar's death, 1258, on 15th October, 1605 (1014 A.H.) Burial at Sikandra, 1262, cf. B 212 and *n.* 2, and Jahangīr's Memoirs translation, p. 101, also pp. 71-72.

Akbarābād, another name for Agra; see Agra.

Akbarnagar, near Rājmaḥal, founded, 1042-43.

Akbarpūr, d. Faizabād, t. Oude, 487 and *n.* 3.

Do. a place in Central India, the residence of Bīrbar, 617.

Akhsī (T), town Farghāna, evidently its capital 1108.

Akmaḥal (Rājmaḥal) in Bengal, 230 and *n.* 2, 238, 250, 1042.

Akrambāl, Kashmīr, 763, 766.

'Ālam K., the Khān 'Ālam of B., p. 378, see Calma Beg.

Do. Sultan, s. P. Murād and 'Azīz Koka's d., 881.

'Ālam Khwāja, eunuch, killed by wrestler, 514-15.

Alāman, s. Humayūn and Ḥājī B., 107.

Alanj, fountain Kashmīr (the Achiaval of Bernier), 837-38.

'Alau-d-dīn, collec or, put to death, 387.

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- 'Alī (ḥakīm) sent Bījāpūr, 388, 808.
 Do. Aḥmad (Maulānā) makes seals bearing names of A.'s ancestors, 1033.
 Do. Akbar (Mīr) younger b. Mūzi-zu-l-mulk, 194, sent in chains fort Zamāniya and imprisoned, 455.
 Do. Beg Akbarshāhī, 1050, 1059, 1065, 1070, 1081, 1103, 1110, 1120, 1137, 1157, 1177, 1195, 1199, 1231, see B., p. 482, and also Jahangīr's Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 334.
 Do. Akbarshāhī, died on, 1616, in his 76th year.
 Do. Alamshāhī (Mīr) imprisoned, 441 and *n.* 3.
 Do. Arlat, 446.
 Do. Bakhshī (Qāzī) appointed Panjab, 546 and *n.*
 Do. Beg, cousin Ṣādiq, killed, 574.
 Do. Dost, joins expedition against Khāndesh, 279, shares charge of army, 599, accompanies Shāhrukh M. to Mālwa (see P.T., 644, name not in translation, 991).
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- 'Alī sends d. to court, 982, her marriage, 990, Rajah 'Alī becomes loyal, 1042, 1045-6, 1047, 1052, battle of Ashtī in which Rajah 'Alī was killed, 1070-72.
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 Do. Mardān Bahādur, 887, 920, 972 (718, P.T. not in translation), 1070.
 Do. Masjīd, fort in Afghanistan, 670, 734, 782-3.
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 Do. Murād, put to death, 535.
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 Do. Naqīb K. (Mīr Ghiaṣṣu-d-dīn), 49, 69, 88, at Maner, 132, accidentally kills b. at polo, 242-43, 269, 306, receives title Naqīb K., 529.
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 Do. Rai, ruler Little Tibet (Baltis-tān), ambassador sent to, 838, sends his d. to court, 921.
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 Do. Sher Mākrī, of Kashmīr, 763-64, 815, 1002.
 Do. Sultan, s. P. Murād and M. Koka's d., birth, 881.
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Allahābād (Ilahābās), 124, 422, 481, 590, founding of, old name Prayāg, 616 and *n.* 1, 622, 624, 625, 655, remission of revenues in, 699 and 779, province made over to Shihā-bu-d-dīn Aḥmad do., remission of revenue, 875, province entrusted to Rai Rām Dās, 924, Ḥusain Beg appointed to, 1029, P. Daniel sent to, 1077, 1114, 1121, 1155, 1210, 1233-34, 1242.

Allah Bardī, Ṣādiq's agent, put to death, 818-19 and *n.* 9.

'Amalguzārān (collectors) appointed, 561-62.

Amarkot, see Umarkot.

Amasia, town, Asia Minor, birth-place of Strabo, 1017 and *n.* 2.

Ambarīlī, town in Kāthīwār, 709 and *n.* 2.

Ambar Jīū, Abyssinian, 1153, 1178, 1185, 1194-96, 1209, 1212, defeat by 'Irij, 1223, 1229.

Amber, ancient town Jaipur, 49, 54 (omitted in translation), A. encamps at and mounts violent elephant, 310, do. Madhū s. Bhagwān Dās sent there to bring away Daniel 49. [1080.

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Amrān, village Gujarāt, 963 and *n.* 2.

Amū (the Oxus, 662).

Anat Ilāīl, ancient ruler Kashmīr, 771 and *n.* 1.

Andarāb Transoxiana, 218, 666.

Andarkūl, Kashmīr, where M. Ḥaidar lived, 959-60.

Angora, scene of battle between, Timur and Bayazīd Ildarīm, 1017.

Antrī, in Gwalior (where A. F. buried).

Anūp tank, Fatḥpūr, filled with money, 354, treasure opened, 374.

Āqā Jān (Khawāja), sent to M. Ḥakīm with Indian rarities, 221.

Aqserai, Kabul, 533, 872 (and P.T. 734).

Arab Bahādur, s. Ḥāshim K., enters service and receives title Niyābat K., 133-34, 169, does good service, 189, 190, 191, 193, 195, 263, jagīrdār of Sasseram and a rebel, 418-19, 421-22, 429, 450, 452, 461, 470, 472, 475, his brutality, 475, 476, 480-81, 485, 496-97, 498, 511, 587, 605-6, his death, 745-46.

Arabs, desert-dwelling, 863, and *n.* 4. 938.

Arāīl, 481-82, 576, 682, 709-10, 809.

Ārash, famous archer of antiquity, 67.

Arb'aīnhā, Fasting for forty days. See P. 310 and translation, 457, cf. Sūfīāna in B., pp. 57 and 61, and Lucknow edition N. third Vol. p. 173, *n.* 8.

Ardabīlī Mīr Ārif does homage, 847, son-in-law to 'Alī K. ruler Kashmīr, goes Tibet where 'Alī Rāi gives him his sister in marriage, joins A. and is well received, 847 and *n.* 3, given money for indigents in Tibet, 850.

'Ardabīlī S. Ṣafī, 894, 895.

Ārif, and account of Ṣafavī dynasty.

Do. s. Sharīf, his and brother's disloyalty, 292, killed by his women in Agra, 881.

Armenians, come court, 874.

Arrah, town, 240, 419, 420.

Arzūna, plain Afghanistan, 863-64.

Asad K., Turkaman, helps to drown Mullahs, 455 and *n.* 3.

Aṣaf K., No. 1, servant Nizāmu-l-Mulk, 409.

Do. No. 2, of Badayūnī and Blochmann, see p. 433, of latter and his Index, p. 625, was the official title of Khwāja Mīrzā Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī of Qazwīn in Persia, and s. Agha Mullā dawatdār (inkstand-holder). Notices of all the three Aṣafs will be found in the Maṣṣiru-l-umarā, pp. 77, 90 and 107, of Vol. I. See also Badayūnī III. Ghīāṣu-d-dīn accompanied Akbar to Gujarāt, p. 16, where he is wrongly called Isfahānī, 17, 66, 68-9, sent to bring Pattan army, 66, sent Aḥmadābād, 68, made Bakhshī of Gujarāt and given title of Aṣaf K., 90, reports conquest of country, 94, made one of the head officers ('āmil) of crown-lands, 167, with Mān Singh against Rānā Chitor, 237, at Goganda, 244, sent Īdar, 269 and 281, said to have been made mint-master at Patna, 321 and *n.* 4, but this may be his nephew J'aafir. He and his brother's s. do. homage, 323, censured for slackness, 358, ordered carry out branding regulations in Mālwa, 383, and to improve discipline in Gujarāt. He died, 989,

A.H. (1581), so subsequent entries in Persian text index refer not to him, but to his nephew J'aafir, or to Ghīāṣu-d-dīn Naqīb K. of Qazwīn.

Aṣaf K., No. 3, He was Mīrzā Qīwāmu-d-dīn J'aafir Beg, and s. Badiu-z-zamān of Qazwīn. (See Blochmann, p. 411, No. 98). He was the most distinguished of the three Aṣafs. Ordered join army, 701, accompanies P. Murād to welcome Sulaimān Badakhshī, 786, sent Afghanistan, 803, investigates assassination of Mullā Aḥmad, 804, in Swāt, 810, Kashmīr, 829, before Akbar, 839, on duty at Chenāb, 921, 928, Afghanistan, 982, 987, 993, sent Kashmīr on fiscal duty, 1004, arrives Lahore from Kashmīr in three days, 1004, goes Pathānkot, 1060, died, 1021, A.H. (1612). There is much about J'aafir Beg in Badayūnī's Mantakhab III, 2 and 6, Bib. Ind. ed. See also Blochmann's Ayīn, pp. 572-74 and notes.

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Ashraf K., Mīr Munshī, a famous calligrapher, 57, 99, 135, sent to Bengal, 145, 175, brings Daniel to Munīm, 185, death at Gaur, 227 and *n.* 1.

Do. s. 'Abdul-Barī Naqsh-

bandī, 1052 (P.T. 739, 744), Khwāja, goes on pilgrimage, 272, sent away by Mīrzā Koka, 979, sent with presents to Tīmūr, 1052, 1103, dies, 1111.

Ashti, battle of, 1070-72.

Ashraq (Gujarātī) or Mashriq, received by A., 10 and *n.* 2, acts as guide, 18, made governor Thanesar, 201.

Asīrgar, fort in Khāndesh (P.T. 752).

‘Askarī, Mīrzā, s. B. his wife Sultan B., 206.

Askaran (Rajah) uncle Bhagwān Dās, 295, 422, 453, 518, in charge of deceased persons’ property, 599, promoted, 687, 701, in Afghanistan, 716, 77, Agra made over to him and S. Ibrāhīm, 779, 803, death of son, 925 (1232).

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Attock, here called Attock Benares, founded by A., 520-21, 717, A. spends 3 months, 12 days at, 744, 748, 853, bridge made below, 855, 857, Narain Miṣr dies at, 866, two famous doctors died at this time, and experts, in explaining omens, rejoiced, saying it showed that A. would not again need doctors, 966, But all lament for their death p. 1259.

Azdu-d-daula (arm of the State) title of Fath Ullah Shirāzī; comes from Gujarāt and does homage, 789, 807, inquires into case of Allah Bardī, 818, death, 848, Faizi

writes elegy on, 852. See Fath Ullah.

‘Azīz Kokaltāsh (Mīrzā) Khān A’zim, A.’s foster-brother and s. Shamsu-d-dīn Khān ‘Azim and Jī Jī Anaga who was A.’s nurse. ‘Azīz was somewhat younger than Akbar, and was probably born late in 1542 or early in 1543. Aḥmadābād made over to, 13, 15, 25, Pattan victory, 32, 37, Īdar, 59, enters Aḥmadābād, 60, A.’s fondness for him, 61, joins A., 74, 76, 82, A. embraces him, 88, joins A., 110-11, 121, comes from Gujarāt and received with favour, 155, decline in favour from objecting to branding-regulations, 208-9, retirement, 235 and 361, sent for but does not come, 361-2. In Gujarāt puts servant to death for torturing a collector, bribes servant’s father, and retires from office, 387 and *n.* 2, forgiven, given title Khān A’zim, and promoted, 5000 rank, 454, sends Mīr ‘Alī Akbar to court in chains, 455, quarrel with Shāhbāz, 474, 477, 485, in Ḥājīpūr helps defeat Bahādur, 549-50, arrives from Bihar and well-received, 555, opinion about death-penalty, 559, sent subdue Bengal, 567, comes court for New Year festivities, 576, at Jaunpūr, 586, proceeds Garhī, 589-90, tries suppress Qatlū, 600, wishes leave Bengal do., 605, comes Allahābād, 625, gets fief, 629, does homage, 644, sent Mālwa, 655, sent Deccan, 701, 739, goes Gujarāt, 742, 779, d. married to P. Murād, 791, mother of Sultan Rustum, 807, ordered help Burhānū-l-Mulk, 821,

859, given Gujarāt, 865, Aḥmadā-bād, 877, 886, sends presents, 889, victory, 902 and 906, 910, 915, takes Jūnāgarh and sixteen sea-ports, one apparently being Pūr-bandar, see *n.* 3, captures Moẓaffar Gujarātī, 962-64, departs Mecca, 979, sailing from Balāwal; 38th year of reign, not 39th as stated in Maasir U. and in B. The date is 25 March, 1593, or 15 Farwardīn of Ilahī year 1002 and 1 Rajab, 1001 A.H., as far as I can make out. Badayūnī's chronogram yields, 1002, but he admits this is a year too much, and that proper date is, 1001. See Lowe's translation, 401 and *n.* 2. 'Azīz returned Balāwal in beginning, 1003, A.H., that is in August or September, 1594, so that he seems to have been absent from India about eighteen months. In 24 days he arrived at court from Balāwal, p. 1006. News of return reached court on 30th Shahriyār, 1003, p. 1004. It would seem that he must have been in Mecca for over a twelve month. The last sentence of the note, p. 981, of translation is not correct. Apparently he did not come to court till November 1594. His mother took the sin of his conduct on herself, 981. 'Azīz has an audience, 1006, made Vakīl, 1026, meets Shāh Beg, 1030, seal made over to, 1033, Multan given in fief to, 1068, his dream, 1074, death of sister, 1119, 1149, death of mother, 1153, takes her body Delhi, 1161, 1166, 1170, sons promoted, 1208, d. married P. Khusrū, 1211, his own rank increased to

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Bābā 'Alī, Yusafzai leader, 984.
Bābā Dost, sent Bengal, 209, 450, reports, 476.
Do. K. Qāqshāl, 19, 30, 39, sent conquer Bengal, 145, sent Ghorāghāt, 169, in battle, 252-3, 386, discontented and rebellious 429-30, joins Bihar rebels, 443, made K. K. by rebels, 440, 451, has cancer and dies 469-70 and *n.* 1, 590.
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Do. Ilāhī, Kashmīr, 946.

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Bahādur K., of Tarbat, fells Rajput assassin, 7.

Bahārjī, ruler Bāglānā, comes court, 41-42.

Bhāwal Anaga, d. Jogā Parhār, in Humāyun's harem, wife Jalāl Go-inda, first wet-nurse for Akbar's death, 1109 and *n.* 2.

Bairām K. K., his martyrdom, 9 and *n.* 1, 202.

Bajaur, N.-W. Frontier Province, 166, 715, 720, 726, 734, 748, Zain K. sent to 802, 810, 812, 937, 956-57, 982, 1010, 1055.

Bajraspur, *t.* E. Bengal, 650 and *n.* 2. Not identified. Perhaps it is in Dacca or Maimansingh, d.

Bajāna or Bacūna, town 16 miles from Fathpur Sīkrī, 54 and *n.* 2, triumphant march from to capital, 91.

Bakar, on border Ajmīr, 91 and *n.* 1.

Bakht Nisā Begam, M. Ḥakīm's sister, and wife Kh. Naqshbandī, 518, 713 and *n.* 1.

Baksar, 883, apparently should be Bakar.

Baksar, Buxar of I. G., 422.

Balandarī, Pass in Swād, see J. II, 391, 730.

Bālapur, in Berar, 1052 and *n.* 1.

Balarām, nephew Bhagwān Das, killed 924,

Balāwal, Verāval of I. G. XXIV. 308, port in Jūnagarh State, 'Azīz Koka embarks at, 980 and *n.* 6, lands there, 1006.

Balbhadr, brahman, 42.

Balghatta, city in Chota Nāgpur, plundered by Yār Muḥ. Arghūn, 171.

Balkh, 216, 335, 721, gates kept shut, 755.

Balnāth, hill (Tilla), jogīs' hermitage near Rohtās, 513-14, A. visits, 513 and 709.

Bālsundar, elephant, account of 123-24, A. rides him, 141 and 268.

Baluchistan, wilderness of Balucīs, 335, 346, A.'s story about one, 378, in audience, 739, 887, 994.

Bāmīān, fort in Afghanistan, 840, last line.

Bāmri, 308-9, in Jodhpur Rajputana, Mirta is the Merta of I. G. Perhaps, suggestion that the place is Barmer is right, see 308, *n.* 1. Barmer is in Mallānī, d. of Jodhpur. Proper head of chapter, p. 308, is "concerning the ranks (or dignities) of the princes." Persian word used is *tarbiyāt*, but perhaps this is a mistake for *tartīb*.

Bandar Laharī, decayed seaport near Karachi, 972-3.

Bāndhū, fort, 977, 1059, other references in P.T.

Bānganga river (the Godavary), battle at, 1065 and *n.* 2.

Bangash (omitted in I.G.), in Kohat N.W.F. d. J. 11, 407. A. F. calls it a toman, 167, 423, 532, 748, 794-95, 1010, 1066.

Bānī Kābīn, ferry on Cīnāb, 870.

Bānswāra (Bānswāla), S. Rajputana, 274, 277, 340.

Bānūd, p. 794, where wrongly written Bānū. But Bannū seems proper spelling.

Bāqīr Anṣārī, 447, 490, 674 and *n.* 5, 935, 940, wounded, 968, 998.

Bāqī K., elder b. Adham K., 145, accompanies Gulbadan B., 206, goes Khāndesh, 279, 288, 422, marriages-director, 585, charge of jewels, 599, dies, 652.

Do. Kulābī, 146, 191, 452.

Do. Beg, 216.

Bāqīr Safarcī, 422 and *n.* 1, 460, 998, death in Bengal, 1031 and *n.* 5.

Bāramūla, gate of Kashmīr, 847, 849, 918, 960.

Bāra Sindur, town E. Bengal, 649 and *n.* 1. Bāra means 12, but I do not know meaning of Sindur. There is an Agāra sindur in Mymensing, it being an old name for the Niklī thana. Evidently Agāra means 11. See Mymensingh Gazetteer, p. 32.

Bardwan, d. Bengal, 119, 173, 600, 653, battle at, 697, 879, Pahār K., dies at 970.

Bareilly, fort, 512.

Bārīkāb, stream and halting-place, Afghanistan, 533, 539, 543, 792, 856, 863, 865.

Baroda, Gujarāt, in hands Ibrahīm Ḥusain, 15, Todar Mal administers, 292-93,

Basantpur, Kumaon. 203.

Bathan, Afghanistan, 777, and *n.* 1.

Batkhan, (?) hill in Swād, 811.

Batrās, defile, Hazara, d. 851 and *n.* 3.

Bāyāzīd, eldest, s. Sulaimān Karārānī, put to death, 28.

Bāz Bahādur K., sent Campānīr, 15, in Pattan battle, 33.

Bengal, death of Sulaimān, Karārānī, 5-6, conquest entrusted Mu'nīm K. K. 16, history of 28-31, A. undertakes conquest of 57-58, 96-102, 110, 126-27, Patna taken, 140-47, 150-53, 164, 169-86, 209. Todar Mal brings elephants, etc., from Bengal, Mu'nīm's death, etc., 226-31, 238-43, A. goes Bengal, 248-56, 277, Bengal mint, 321, 327, 349, Partāb Tavares Feringhī (and his wife Nashārna?) arrives, 350, 376-77, 386, 407, 415, Dāūd's mother sent, 420, rebellion of Bengal officers, 426, account of Bengal climate, 427, and its bad effects 427-35, 439, death of Mozaffar, 442, 454, 460, 469, state of Bengal, 469-71, death of Sharafu-d-dīn, 477-78, death of Bahādur Bangī, 490 and *n.* 1, 491, Khān A'āzīm, sent B., 567, attack on merchants, 568, Bengal conquered for the third time, 589-93, Shahbāz sent, 594, 625, account of the Bhātī d. 645-51, Shahbāz returns from Bhātī unsuccessful, 637-60, 672-73, M'āsūm Kābulī discomfited, 693, Shahbāz sent against B., 701, Bengal pacified, 721, entrusted to Wazīr K., on his death S'aīd K. appointed 801 and *n.* 1, Shahbāz at court, 807, rebels, 872, Mān Singh, sent Orissa, 878-79, Sharif Amulī sent Bengal, 916, B. and Bihar entrusted Rai Rām Dās, 924, conquest of Orissa, 933-36, rebels submit 940-41, Shahbāz released, 127, elephants arrive from Bengal, 985, Mān Singh's fief in B. and B. entrusted him, 999, at Tānda, 1023, Kishn Dās made diwān, B. 1029, 'Īsā's present received, 1031, Akbarnaga, (Rājmaḥal) founded 1042, Busna

- captured, 1059, account of Bihar, 1066-68.
- Berār, province, Mozaffar seized there, 330, account of prov. 685, 739, 742, 835, 892, 1050, 1052, 1059.
- Bhadrijān, town near Sirohi, 6 and *n.* 2.
- Bhagwān Dās (Rajah), *s.* Bihārī Mal, in Sarnāl battle, his sister Miriam Zamānī, 49, in charge Harem, 61, 71, 77, 89, 92-93, 123, 269, 272, censured, 274-75, 277, 307, 339, 348, does homage, 358, sent Panjab, 380, 423, 508, 529, A. visits him, 546, goes command Panjab, 587, 671, d. marries Selim 678, promoted, 687, sent Kashmīr, 715, 738, sent Afghanistan, 742-43, and goes mad, 745, 774, Lahore, entrusted to, 779, 799, death, 863, Pertāb his *s.* goes mad 1111, d. commits suicide, 1239.
- Bhakkar or Bakhar, island Indus, 127-28, 792.
- Bhath'i or Bhilti or Bhaltah, territory in Baghalpur Central Ind. and *n.* 2, 966, 1042.
- Bihar, 28, 57, affairs of 187-93, 227, 238, 252, 303, 320-21, 415.
- Bihārī Mal, Bihārī Mal in P.T. (Rajah), 27 in charge capital and princes, 478, 926 and *n.* 1, 50, 62.
- Bikr, or Dīārbikr, Mesopotamia, 895.
- Bikrām or Bigrām or Begrām, Peshawar, 524 and *n.* 1, 528, 538, 542, 545, 577, 713, 794, 801, 855, 957, 983, 987, 1051, saffron grown at the Begrām near Kābul city 1064.
- Bikrāmpur, in Dacca division, naval fight with 'Isā K. near it, 1093, ruler of 1215.
- Birār, vill. near Agra, S. 'Abdullah brings Dāūd's head there, 249.
- Bīrbar (Rajah), his Nagarkote fief, 52, 69, 123, his mission, 278, 295, 357, 407, 484, 511, 559, 585, A. visits 587, 599, illness, 615, A. visits his Akbarpūr house, 617, sent Pannah, 624, A. saves his life. 154, A. visits, 657, sent Swād, 719-20, lots taken between him and A. F. do, quarrels 727-828, killed, 732, 734-35, impostor, 805, Bīrbar's *s.* quarrels Lāla, 1122, and 1200, and *n.* 1, another *s.* comes, 1231.
- Bishanpur, in Bankura, 879.
- Blochmann, Professor, *passim*, in notes.
- Bokhara, mortality among birds at, 857.

C

The Persian *Che* has in this Index sometimes been rendered by *C* and sometimes by *Ch*.

Cabool, see Kābul.

Cabral, Antonio, Portuguese ambassador, 37-8, and *n.* 1.

Cāchar, elephant, nearly killed Bīr Bar, A. saves him, 654.

Caghān serai, place on Kunār r., Afghanistan, 984.

Caghatai K., favourite *s.* Cingiz Qaān, 840.

Do. Deccanī, follower, Burhān-ul-Mulk, killed, 859.

Cagathai, Mongol tribe, 250, 535.

Cakdara, fort on Swāt River, 727-8, 810, *n.* 1, I.G., 122.

Caks or Chaks, Kashmīr family, 774 and *n.* 1, and 835 P.T.

Cakūr, in Kālpī, 124.

Cakgopāl, near Lahore, A. injured by wolf at, 807.

Calabī or Calpī Beg, of Tabrīz, learned man, comes court, account of, 1116 and *n.* 3.

Calpa or Chalīpā, Persian Index

makes it a place, but this seems wrong. *Chalīpā* seems correct reading and means a cross, or anything crooked or bent. Here used to mean apparently a tortuous or devious route. Have rendered it by "cross roads," but this is doubtful. Perhaps what is meant is that fugitives went off in agitated manner or took by-paths. See Lucknow ed. A. N. under 25th year, p. 198, vol. III, p. 8, and p. 498 of translation *n.* 3, also *Bahār-i-'Ajam* 319 and *n.* S. v. *Chalīpa*, and Vuller's Dictionary, I. 588.

Cambay, port, Gujarat, A. arrives at 13, Hasan K. in charge, 15, 38 and *n.*, 59, 293, 301, 610, 613, 629. S. Mozaffar comes to 639, 641, 655, 962.

Cāmpānīr, 25.

Cānd or Cāndor, 60 m. from Aḥmadnagar, 1046.

Cānd K., on elephant in battle against Kabulīs, 537.

Do. father-in-law Muḥ. K., 1169.

Candāl, a tribe, 922.

Cāndpūr, t. Bijnor, d., I. G, X, 167, 544.

Cānd Rai, s. Kedar Rai, killed by Afghans, 968-9. P.T. 632, has Gorakpūr, but there is the variant Kharakpūr which may be vill. in Midnapur d., I.G, XV, 247.

Candūr, t. Berar, 741.

Canda K., Deccanī, 686, 859.

Candur Bhān, Mān Singh's brother, marries Pūran Mal of Gidhaur's d., 872.

Candaur, t. Berar, 741. [*n.* 2.]

Candur Kot, fort, Kashmīr, 775, and Candar Sen, s. Rajah Maldeo, rebels 113-14, 155, 224-5, his fort of Siwāna taken, 237, his defeat, 466.

Canderī, fort, Central India, 422 and 1211.

Cārāns, Gujarāti tribe allied to Bhīls, 78 and *n.* 3. See J. II. 249.

Cārbāra, vill. Cutch, 964.

Cārīkārān or Cārīkār, outpost, Afghanistan, 669.

Carkas (Circassian) k., in Gujarāt, joins enemy, 628, 641, killed at Broach, 657 and *n.* 1.

Catar Bhūj, Rajah Mālwa, s. Jagman, 1122.

Catr Sen, in Mān Singh's army, 934.

Catrī, Afghan, 194, 199 and *n.* 1.

Caudhrīs, mint masters, 320-21 and *n.* 1, 470 and *n.* 2.

Cerūs, an Indian tribe, 721 and *n.* 1.

Chalmers, Captain, quoted, 5, *n.* 2.

Chameleon, legend about, 1 and *n.* 3.

Chānd Bībī, sister Burhānu-l-Mulk.

Said to have poisoned her brother 1025 and *n.* 2, defends Aḥmadnagar 1047. T, 1142-43, put to death, 1158.

Chankārī, fort, Afghanistan, 957, 982-83. Also spelt Cīnkārī.

Chaupāra, ferry, 794 and *n.* 1.

Chaugarha, fort, or Chorgarha fort, but apparently Khurda is the correct spelling, 967 and *n.* 3.

Chenāb or Chīnāb, r. Kashmīr and Panjab, bridged, 356, 508 and *n.* 4, 513, 546, 708, 747, 764, 818, crossed by two bridges, 870, 916, 922, 946.

Chītās (leopards), two special ones drowned Ganges, 132.

Chitor, 661.

Chittagong, E. Bengal, 159, 722.

Chorah Pass or Chohār Chobah, 782 and *n.* 1.

Christians (Naṣāri), arrive from Goa at Surat camp, 37 and *n.* 1, 44, *n.* 5. A.'s conversation with 372 and *n.* 5.

Chunār or Cunār, Mun'im marches from, 28.

Cingiz K., the Tartar (Qaān Buzurg), pestilence in time of, cured by henna, 939, appointment of Tarkhāns, 973, 975.

Do. Gujarātī, s. Itimādu-l-Mulk, officer Sultan Maḥmūd, killed by Jujhar K., 42, 46 and *n.* 1.

Cīta Bilūcī, 739.

Circassian dynasty, 1019. The word in P.T. lines 11 and 14 is Charakasta or Charakashta, and I have taken this to be Circassian. But text seems corrupt.

Circumcision of three princes, 102-03 and *n.* 1.

Cocakpūr, vill., 129.

Coka or Cākā Rai or Joga Parīhar, f. Bhawal Anega, 1109.

Comet (of 1577), 311-16 and *n.*

Cotāna or Chotāna or Jūtāna, t. Gujarāt, 98, *n.* 2, 67.

Couto, Diego du, quoted, 37 and 38, *n.* 1.

Cūcak Beg, servant, M. Shāhrukh, 663, 665.

Do. Khānim, w. 'Abdu-r-Rashīd, d. Kāshghar, quarrel with Harīm, B. 213-15.

Cūnār, Mun'im marches from 28, stormy weather at 125.

Cutch (Kachchh) Native State, Bombay Pres., cf. 710, *n.* 1, Pancharān ruler of, 199, 904, 963.

D

Dābar or Dāīr, stage near Fathpūr Sīkrī, 110 and *n.* 1, 206 and *n.* 1.

Dāīr, apparently, the proper spelling.

Dacca (Dhāka), capital E. Bengal,

thānadār of made prisoner, R, Mān Singh comes to 1213-15, and 1236.

Dādhāl Hazāra, d. 851 and *n.* 4.

Dhakārī or Dastkārī, 853 and *n.* 2.

Dahpāl, Rajah of 884.

Dajan khārū and Dajanpārā, 849 and *n.* 2. Places in Kashmīr, spelling incorrect.

Dakka or Daka, northern end Khyber Pass, 529, 669, 734, 792, 856, 864, A.'s accident at, 866.

Dalpat or Dilpat, s. Rai Singh of Bikānīr (B. 359 and 490), 919, 924, cowardice, 934. (The Dilpat Rai, mentioned, 622, 887, and killed, p. 10072, is a different person.)

Do. Rajah Bhojpūr, known as Ujjainiya, 239, *n.* 2, rebellious 474-76, submits, 1121, 1133, forgiven, 1200 (see B. 513 and *n.*, also Maasīru-l-U. II. 152 et seq.), 1232, 1238.

Dāman or Damayantī, legendary heroine, Faizī presents poem, 1014-15. See also extracts in P.T. pp. 684-88.

Damān, Portuguese settlement Gujarāt, pp. 37 and 38 *n.*, 410 *n.* 1.

Damghār, Pass in Swad. Afghanistan, 811. See J. II. 391.

Dāmodar, r. Bengal, 602, 616.

Damtūr or Dentūr, t. near Abbotābād, 851 and *n.* 5, 961, 1010.

Dānāpūr, Deccan, 859.

Dāndesh, see Khāndesh.

Dandūqa, the Dandhuka of I.G.I. 46, 89, 681, 910 (dele. hyphen after Dandūqa, 181).

Daniel (Sultan), third s. A., born Ajmīr 9 Sept. 1572 (980 H.), sent for from Amber, 49, arrives Ajmīr 54, Saīd K. made tutor, 288, commander 6000, 308, sent Ajmīr as A.'s representative, 462-64, in charge capital, 495, attends Miriam Makānī, 547, weighment day fixed for, 581, superintendent Religion and Faith, 598, receives Shahrukh, 671, sent Afghanistan, 743, marriage, 806, meets Miriam Makānī, 859, d. born, 875, sent Qandahar, 942, but returns from Rāmbāri on account appearance of 300 meteors, attacked by madman, 994, sent Deccan, 994-95, marriage, 995, in Sirhind, 996, d. born, 1027 and *n.* 2, marriage, 1040, m. dies, 1063, sent Allahabad, 1077, s. born who soon dies, 1090, Bāndhu given to, 1104, improper behaviour, 1114, has an audience, 1121, governor Deccan, 1132-33, wife dies, 1139, 1140, 1144, 1146, 1148, 1175, given Khandesh and its name changed to Dāndesh. See 1175 and note 3. A. F.'s interview with, 1201. Daniel's request, 1208, 1212, 1216, drinking, 1221-22, and 1228-9, and 1238, marriage 1239-40 and 41, 1248, death, 1254-55. [1, 802.

Dānishkol, Afghanistan, 726 and *n.*

Daqq or daqu, (B.'s dāgū, p. 333, probably a misprint), a robe of honour, 401. See A. N. translation II. 185.

Darbār-i-mashkoi, female apartments? 201 and *n.* 1.

Darbhangā, 872.

Darghor, fort in Qandahar? Perhaps it is Ghor, 1027 and *n.* 2.

Dārāb, servant A., nearly poisoned, 289.

Do. s. K. K., birth, 882.

Darjan Singh, soldier, 935-36, 1043, 1059.

Dar Samand, place near Peshawar, 794.

Darvesh Islamabādī, in charge Tārīkābā 792. Not identified.

Do. Alī Qūshbegī, 717 (name omitted in translation).

Do. Saiyid, 887.

Daryā Gilānī, name for Caspian, 1113.

Daryā K., invades Bhātī, 647, 941, 1022.

Daryāpūr, t. on Ganges. Patna dis., 142-43, elephant fights at, 116.

Dasht Arzāna, 863-64.

Do. Qipchāq, 843, 1100.

Do. Khaldīrān, battlefield, 1019.

Dāspūr, on Ganges, 130.

Dastam Be, 872.

Do. Deccanī, 1065.

Do. K., 16, 33, 36, gov. Ajmīr and fiefholder Rantambhor 295, killed, 476. (Here Rustam, see B. 398-99).

Do. Qāqsāl, death of, 698.

Do. Sultan, uncle 'Abdu-l-Mūmīn, killed Tāshkand, 1109.

Daswanth Kahār, painter, his suicide, 651 and *n.* 1.

Dāūd K., y.s. Sulaimān Kararānī, set up by Lūdī and afterwards abandoned by him 28 (bis), Jaunpur, 30-31, puts Lūdī to death, 97-100, Patna, 101, 126, omen about 130-31, his ambassador, 136-37, flight, 140-43, elephants, 146, 150,

flight from Tānda, 153, 161, 169-72
returns to fight, 173, defeated, 175-
79, submits, 182-85, breaks engage-
ments, 228-30, 240, 248, head
brought in, 249, defeated and
killed, 253-55, interview with K.
Jahān, 255, family in Sāt-gāon, 327-
28, mother Naulaka, 376, sent capi-
tal, 420.

Daudā, Beg of Gujarāt, executed,
300.

Daudā, s. Rai Sarjan, ruler Rantam-
bhor, exped. against, 258, punished,
284, brought court, 355, forgiven,
356, A. stays in Daudā's house,
but query? 362, dies, 706 (see Ma-
siru-l-Umarā II. 116).

Daulat K. Lodī, Afghan, f. K. Jahān
Lodī, 632 and *n.* 5, 651,
against Mozaffar Gujarātī,
683, 745, 809, in Sind 930-
31, in charge ferries Lower
Bengal, 1029, 1047, 1140,
dies at Ahmadnagar, 1175.
See B.'s account of him, p.
502, No. 309, his s.'s mad-
ness, 1203.

Do. Shaikh, 534, 752, 764, 775,
1047, 1050.

Do. Saiyid, 613, 640, disgraced,
655, 798.

Do. K., s. Amīn K. Ghorī, 902,
905, dies of wounds, 910, his
sons, 949.

Daulat Nāzīr Khwāja, a rebel? 1153,
697, 727, made Khān, 999,
apparently rebels, 1153.

Do. Nisā, Selīm's (Jahāngīr) d.,
866 and *n.* 1.

Daulat K., apparently synonym for
Kh. Dost K., 40 and *n.* 1.

Daulatābād, Deccan, 59, fort of, 820,
1120, 1125.

Do. Afghanistan, 524, 705.

Daur, valley N. Wazīristān, Agency,
794.

Dawara-l-Mulk, saint, shrine, 710
and *n.* 2.

Debī Dās, killed, 114.

Do. 225.

Deccan, embassy to and from, 108,
rulers of, told troops would be sent
to remove Feringhīs, 409-10.

Decennial Settlement, 413 and *n.* 2.

Deer, injures A., 1061.

Degrees of loyalty, 39 and *n.* 2 (see
B. V. *n.* 2).

Delhi, 50, 51. Hājī B. settles at
107, 133, A. visits shrines at, 154,
322, 329, Muḥibb 'Alī governor,
357, A. at Humayūn's tomb, 360,
impression Prophet's foot, 410-11
and *n.* 2, 499, 546-47, Hājī B.'s
death at, 551-2, revenue remitted,
699, A. visits tombs, 705, 749 and
n. 1, Delhi appointments, 779, 812,
875, 926, 1029, 1118. P. Murād's
body brought to, 1142.

Deluge, at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, bursting
of tank, 578.

Deokūr, fort, 237 and *n.* 2 (see B.
399 and *n.* 1).

Daora Rai, of Sirohī, 266, 278.

Dhār, 1146.

Dhāra, vill. near Orchha, Bandel-
kand, 325 and *n.* 1. Dhāra means
stream, and perhaps means here
the Betwa.

Dhārū, s. Todar Mal, 294, 876, 929,
930, killed in Sind battle do.

Dhārwar, 1178 and *n.* 1.

Dhūb, query? Dohadd, 93 and *n.*
2, 1198.

Dīāla, in P.T. p. 577 this seems
name of place; see P.T. index
p. 80. I have taken it as name of
person.

Dīda Cohān, killed, 190, *n.* 3.

Diego da Couto, Portuguese historian, 37, *n.* 1, 38 *n.*

Dīha or Dīsa, Gujarāt, 8 and *n.* 65.

Dihakdār or Dhokdār, t. Panjab, 706.

Dilāmez, gardens, 1023, 1049.

Dilāwez, garden near Agra, 1063, 1077.

Dilgasha, gardens, Sirhind, 705.

Dilrang and Daulat Khan, special cītās, drowned, 132.

Dīpālpūr, or Dībālpūr, t. Panjab, 52, 276, 280, 283, 295, 358, 908, 1146.

Dīp Cānd, Rajah, 69, 76.

Divine Era, introduced, 645 and *n.* 1, beginning of 29th year.

Divine Faith (Dīn Ilāhī), discussions, and building house of worship 157 and seq., 364 and seq., Rodolfo Acquaviva, 368 and *n.* (See Rehatsek's "A.'s Repudiation of Islām," Bombay, 166).

Division of India into twelve sections (Bakhsh), 412 and *n.* 413.

Division of time, A.'s, 372.

Diwāli, s. Bakht Nisā, mistake of text for Walī, 713 and *n.* 4.

Diwāns and Bakhshīs, appointed, 778-79.

Domes, or brick mounds, at Patna (panchpāhārī), 196.

Dost Muh., s. Tātar K., killed, 7.

Do. s. Bābā Dost, sent Bengal as punishment, 209, repents, 476 and *n.* 1.

Dogs, their good qualities, 419, dogs not to be hunted in the yīt (dog) year. My translation is wrong. 489.

Drinking, 209.

Dūgāon or Dokon, copper mint: t. near Bahraich in Oudh, 745 and *n.* 2.

Dūk or Dūkī, 720 and *n.* 1.

Dūkanwalī, ferry on Cīnāb, 747.

Dūla Rai, s. Kharak Rai, 746.

Dulqa or Dhūlka, Ahmadabad, 32, 46, 89, 293, 609, 640, 656.

Dumb House (Gangmaḥal), experiment, 581 cf. Herodotus, Euterpe, C. 2 Psammetichus, 7th century B.C. 664-610, only experimented on two babies, A. on twenty. The experiment was carried on for nearly four years. The idea came to A. in the 24th year of his reign, and was not discontinued till after four years. See Badayūnī, Lowe II. 296 and *n.* 1.

Dūnāra or Dūbāna, Jodhpur, 238 and *n.* 1.

Dūnd, vill. Kashmīr, 823.

Dungar or Dongar, a Gond word meaning forest, B. 494 *n.* 1.

Dungārpur, Rajputana, 48, 57, 277, Bīrbar sent to arrange marriage at, 278, 295, 609, 640, 656, 706.

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Fath Ullah Shīrāzī (Amīr), styled 'Azdu-d-daula, 441, comes court, 578, 593, 643, made Amīnu-l-Mulk, gets title of 'Azdu-d-daula and sent Khandesh, 701, returns unsuccessful, 740, arrives from Gujarāt, 789, 807, 818, illness, 846, death, 848, 'Faizī's elegy on, 852, reference to his last days and physician's mistake (840 P.T.).

Fathābād, Sirkār in E. Bengal, 592.

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Do. Sultan, 411 and *n.* 2.

Fūlād Mīrzā, or Pulād s. Khudadād Barlās, sent with presents to Turān 297, 519, 716 (not called here Mīrzā, and may be different person, my translation Faulād should be Fūlād), executed, 803-05 and *n.* 2.

Do K. Ḥabshī of Kandesh, 1150, 1151, promoted, 1152, 1173 1196.

G

Gadha or Garha, a small territory in Central India, now included in Rewah State: it adjoined Bandhogarh, 1088-89. Bāndhu, as *n.* 4 states, is now in Rewah. The name Gadha mentioned on p. 1089 does not seem known now. A. N. describes it as lying W. Bāndhu, which is now known as Bāndhogarh. Bāndhogarh is marked in

- I.G. Atlas, map 38, as in S.W. part of Baghalkand, but Gadha or Garha is not shown. Sarguja is Surguja of I. G. vol. XXIII, p. 170, and appears in Atlas, map 39. It lies east Jubbulpore and Baghalkand. Possibly Gadha may be the Garwa of map 39 and W. of Daltonganj. The fort which is described at length on p. 1089. A. N. is Bandhogarh. pp. 1088 and 1089 have several misprints. On 1088 "conquesto" should be "conquest," and on 1089, line 2 "comes" should be "come"; Kampū should be Karnpūr.
- Gadā 'Alī Īka, i.e. fighting singly, 84, 281.
- Gadai K., Afghan, killed along with A. F., 811-12.
- Do. Mīr, s. Abū Turāb, 1193, 1198. See B. 507.
- Gajpati, Rajah Dumrāon, 30, 135, 139, rebels, 239-41, 260-65, 280.
- Gangā Rishī, saint, 1092.
- Gangadhar, 1201.
- Gang maḥal, Dumb-house, 581-82 and *n.* 2.
- Ganges, eleven lines entries, nearly all unimportant; some at end refer to the Godavery; have reduced entries as follows, 98, 135, 153, 186, 428, 443, 693.
- Garha in Deccan, 1208.
- Do. Katanga in Gondwāna, 223 and *n.*
- Do. Raisīn, 629.
- Garhī pass to Bengal, 35, 98, 151, 153, 200, 230, 443, 590, 618.
- Garmsīr, d. Qandahar, 1027.
- Gaur city, Bengal, 226, 228.
- Gaurdahan, s. Todar Mal, 606, 887.
- Gaya, 476.
- Gesū Mīr, a Persian, 129, killed, 615.
- Getī Sitānī Bābur's title, 843.
- Gharībkhāna station, Khyber, 792 and *n.* 2.
- Ghāzī K., ruler Kāshmīr, 828.
- Do. Tabrīzī, 53, 147.
- Do. b. Fath K., 138.
- Do. Tannārī 138 and *n.*
- Do. Badakhshī A.'s disciple, 152, 237, 244-45, 274, 339, 381, 395, 422, 452, 476-77, 549. charge salt, 585, 598, dies. 654-55.
- Do. Afghan killed, 190-91.
- Do. Yusūfzai, 726.
- Do. Murād Ottoman, 1017.
- Do. Mīr s. Jānī Beg, 1172.
- Ghāzī K. Maidānī, 934, 972.
- Do. Ghakkar, 1185.
- Ghāzīkot, 821.
- Ghāzīpur, 31, 130, 241, 260, Sirkār given M. K. Farankhudī, 410, 426 (bis), 457, 544.
- Ghaznī K. of Jalor, 710-11 and *n.* 3, variants 'Adlī and 'Azlī.
- Ghaznī or Ghaznūn, 166, 801, 917, 993.
- Ghias Naqshband famous carpet weaver, 1113.
- Ghiaspur t. Patna d., 145, 476.
- Ghīaṣu-d-dīn Qazwīnī (Asaf K.) s. Abdu-l-Latīf, 16, 68, 69, gets title Aṣaf K. and made bakhshī, 90, 167, 237, 241, 269, 281, does homage, 323, 358, sent Mālwa, 383.
- Do. Mīr Ghiasu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb K., 49, 69, sent Maner, 132, accidentally kills b., 242, sent Idar, 269, 281, Gujarat, 306, receives title, 524.

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Do. Diwan f. Nūr Jahān,
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Do. ul-Mulk, physician, 123, 137, signs decree, 127, 395, banished, 464, and *n.* 1.

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Do. Fathpūrī (S.), 62, 309, gov. Fathpūr Sikrī, 337, 407-8, 495, 575, 593, does homage, 654, death, 908, his s. Khalīl, a blind man, 1189-90.

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Do. (Sultān), defends Ghorī fort, 218.

Do. s. Bahrām M., 216, put to death, 899.

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Īdar, Rajput State, Bombay, 27, 48, 57, 59, 89, 92, 268, 269, 272, 276, conquered, 280-281, 306, 323, 389, 632, 656.

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'Isā, zamīndār, Bengal, originally Hindu, and s. Kālī Dās Gaj-dānī (elephant expert?). 376-77, 647-49, 658-60, 672, 694, submits 696-7, his intrigues, 969, presents tribute, 1031, 1043, 1059, defeated, 1063, 1068, 1093-4, death, 1140, his s. Dāūd, 1214-15. See Journal A.S.B. 1904, Part I, Vol. 83, p. 1.

Do. (Khwāja), Qutlū's vakīl in Orissa, 879, 934.

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Iskandar (Alexander the Great) anecdote of, 501, verse about, 600, tribe claiming descent from d. of, 716, anecdote, 1098.

Do. (Sikandar) f. 'Abdullāh K. of Tūrān, 753, 760.

Do. Afghān, escapes, 23.

Do. (Sikandar) Beg (name omitted in translation). See translation, 919, and P.T. 602, wounded and dies, 925.

Do. (Sikandar) Uzbek, there is a long account of Iskandar Uzbek in B., p. 365, No. 48, based on Ma'āşiru-l-U. I, 84; and there is also much about him in Vol. II, A.N. but he does not come into, Vol. III, for he died in, 980, B. rightly says it was Chālma Beg who was at Sarnāl. Apparently two persons held at same time title of K. 'Ālam.

Do. (Sikandar). Usbeg, joins Sulaimān Kararānī, 933-34, Malik Sikandar shut up in Cuttack, fort Sārangarh, 941. They had 300 elephants. A notice at p. 29 says Sikandar Uzbeḡ died in Bihār. His s. Maḥmūd in Selīmpūr, 170. At p. 175 a Sikandar is mentioned who seems to be K. Jahān, an officer of Dāūd. At 752 a Sikandar Rafīq mentioned, and at 753, a Sikandar U. who was not the ruler of Tūrān at p. 933, 1050, 1100-01. A Sikandar Caknī, 45. An Iskandar s. Sa'īd who accompanied Ḥaidar M. to Tibet and Kashmīr, 844.

Ismā'il Qulī Turkoman, y. b. Ḥusain Qulī and nephew Bairam, 53, 230, 253, 386, in Bengal, 428, 431, 480, 591, 588, sent Balūchistān, 716-17, with P. Daniel, 743, among Yūsuf-zais when there was a pestilence, 750, Multān, 779, misbehaves, 802-03, Gujarāt, 888, with Murād, 914, 997, Kālpī, 1001, at Court, 1059, date of d. not recorded, 1200, his women poisoned him. See Ma'āḡiru-l-U. I, 105, and Darbār A., 712.

Ismā'il Ṣafavī I, Shah Persia, s. Ḥaidar, account of, 895-96 defeated at Khāldarān (Chāl-dirān), 1019.

Do. II, 305, delete 316-19, 432, 898-99.

Ismā'il and 'Isā, his b., sold as slaves into Central Asia, 647.

Do. s. and S. Jamāl died about the same time from drink, 706-07.

Do. s. Burhānu-l-Mulk, 820-21, 892.

I'timād K. Gujarātī, 8, A. sends for, 9-11, 13, 15, 89, 201, goes pilgrimage, 306, promoted, 464-65, in charge jewels, 585, gov. Gujarāt, 596, 599, 607-14, 623, 632. Note; he died Pattan, 995 A.H., i.e. 1587, See B. 387 and Ma'āḡir I, 93-100.

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Jabbārī, s. Majnūn K. Qāqshāl, 30, 169, 252-53, 386, 449, rebel, 470, 567, 574, 590, loyal, 592, goes Kūch Bihār, 622, 625, released and favoured, 1000.

Ja'far Beg, nephew Āṣaf K., 323, 432, 443, 447, escapes, 449, 599, bakhshī, 661, at Allaha-bad, 779, called Āṣaf K., 983-84.

Do. s. Yūsuf, 1183.

Ja'farī, Amīr, Turkish saint, 1018 and notes 3 and 4.

Jagannāth, b. Bhagwān Dās, 48, 69, 237, 244, 246, 380, 494, 546, 596, 599, 661, 705, 779, 798, 802, 810, 819, 825, gets house, 834, 923, 1052, 1071, does homage, 1110, s. killed, 1136, promoted, 1178, 1189, 1236.

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Jagdalak, 531, 539, 792.

Jagdespār, 261, plundered, 474, 485.

Jagmal Panwār or Patwār, 69, 380, 587, 599.

Do. Silahdar, b. Rānā Pratāp, 519.

Jagman R., 803, 1122.

Jai Tawācā-bāghī, 42, 53, in Kashmīr, 766, vision of, 767, 947 (omitted in translation). See P.T. 619.

Jaimal, 17 and *n.* 1, 69, 245, 595.

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Jalā, executed, 577 and *n.* 2.

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Do. K., 518, 798, 941, 948, 982.

Do. (Bokhārī) Saiyid, 441 and *n.* 3, 628, 776, killed, 1051, 1071.

Do. Multānī, Qāzī, 554 and *n.* 3.

Do. S. saint, 500 and *n.* 3.

Jalāla Tārīkī, 777, 782-83, 795, 802-03, 810, 928, 957, 983, 986, 1051, death, 1160.

Jalālābād t. on Chenāb, 508 and *n.* 4, on Beas, 706, on Cabul r., 529, 539, 542-43, 713, 781, 785, 792, 811, 864, 866, 982, 983.

Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'ūd sister's s. of Quṭbu-d-dīn, put to death, 629; but at p. 770, line 8, we find a Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'ūd alive in Kashmīr; and in the P. Index he is identified with Quṭbu-d-dīn's sister's s. Probably the identification is wrong.

Jalesar Etah, d., 455, 587.

Do. Orissa (Jellasore), 228, 430, 940-41.

Jālnāpūr t. Berār, 1137, 1180, 1189, 1199.

Jalpesh temple, Jalpaigurī d., 1067.

Jām, landholder of Cutch, 681, 683, 699, 709-10, 800, 808-9, 902, 905, 909-10, 915, 948, agrees to give up Mozaffar G. 964, 980, waits on P. Murād, 1000-01.

Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, b.-in-law of Burhānu-l-Mulk of Aḥmadnagar,

author P. Dict., at Pattan, 33, 386 and *n.* 3, gets Jellasore in Balasore, 430, 432, 447, 605 and *n.* 2, promoted, 687, 701, 915, sent Bījāpūr, 1176, 1234, meets P. Daniel at Burhānpūr, 1239.

Jamālu-d-dīn Gīlānī, 894.

Jamla, see Mīr Jamla.

Jamāl Nagarī, old place, Kashmīr, not identified, 1083 and *n.* 2.

Jammū t. and prov. Kashmīr, 877, 947, 1206, conquest of, 1213.

Jamrūd fort, 529, 543, 734, 736 and *n.* 1, 794-95, 801.

Jamshīd Afghān, 327-28, apparently Matī had got part of Dāūd's harem; other Afghāns killed Jamshīd with daggers. *n.* 1 for p. 259 read 376.

Jān Muḥ. of Bahsūd, 29, 252, rebels in Bihar, 449, 490.

Jandāla, 921.

Jānī Beg, (Mīrzā), ruler Sind, s. Pāyinda Arghūn, 750, 920, 925, 929-31, 938-42, audience, 971-73, promoted and gets Multān, 979, 986, 1013, 1030, promoted, 1076, dies, 1171-72, s. does homage, 1257.

Jānish Bahādur, 714, 716, 726, 731, 809 (name omitted in translation), 853, 887, in Sind, 929, 972, dies, 1179 and *n.* 4, his brothers, 1195 and 1199.

Janakī, 809.

Jauhar (Mulk) the diarist, 947.

Jaunpūr, mint at, 321, 429, 483.

Jessore, 1180.

Jinnat Āshiyānī, title of Humāyūn his longing to see Kashmīr, 817.

Jodhpūr, 155.

Jotik Rāi, astrologer, 42, 54.

Jujhār K., Abyssinian, 10, 33, executed, 46, his s. 76.

K

The Persian text has a separate index for places. It seems to me now that the entries in the Place-Index might be omitted, or at least greatly reduced in number. For, the historical part of the A. N. seldom has anything fresh or important about topography. The proper place in which to look for entries of geographical facts is in the *Āyīn Akbarī* volumes, and these can be consulted in the translations by Blochmann and Jarrett. There are over eighty entries in the P.T. under Kabul, Kabul river etc., etc. But nearly all are mere names. A similar remark applies to the entry 'Kabulis.' And there are still more entries under *Kashmīr*, *Kashmīrīs*, and Srinagar.

Kabīr K., s. Bahādur, king *Khān-desh*, 1123, 1146, 1166.

Kabīr *Chishtī*, *Shaikh*, known in Jahāngīr's reign as *Shujā'at* and as the 'Rustam of the Age,' 460, 519, 613 and n. 5, 716, 794, promoted, 1249.

Kākar 'Alī K., killed at Patna siege, 115.

Kālā Pahār. Not, I think, Sulaimān Kararānī's general and Orissa's conqueror. Leaves Lūdī, 31, goes Ghorāghāt, 169, makes commotion there, 186, wounded and defeated, 253, death, 592. Apparently, there is mistake in B., p. 370 and n. 1. Kālā Pahār, also called Rājū, mentioned as servant Sa'adat K., 1154. In my notes I have identified him with the Rājū Deccanī who afterwards gave Imperialists so much trouble.

But I do not suppose he is the Rājū who was also called Kālā Pahār. He is mentioned at 592 as having been annihilated, but perhaps this only means that he was defeated. For Rājū Deccanī, sedition-monger, see 1173, 1185, 1189-90, 1192-95, 1199, 1200, 1216.

Kālū Yūsuf-Zai, absconds, 716, 750.

But name Bustān Kālū seems uncertain, see P.T. 495 n. 3, punished, 811 and n. 4. The figures in this note, viz. 495 and 559 should be 750 and 850.

Kalyān Dās, s. Todar Mal, 812, in charge roads, 1200, of Kālīnjar, 1249.

Kāmraj, division of N. portion *Kashmīr*, 763 and n. 5, 797-98, 830, 946, 1160.

Kāmran M., s. Bābur, his d., 22, also two ds., 205, his widow, 212, garden, 889 and 931, g.d. marries Selīm i.e. Jahāngīr, 969. Her name was Nūru-n-nisā. See B. 477 n.

Kāniguram, vill. S.W. Bannū, 810, 987. Famous as residence Bāyazīd Anṣārī, name of perhaps means hot mine. See Ency. of Islām I, 686.

Karābūh, 'Isā's home, 648 and n. 4.

Kārgiyā, title, ruler Gīlān, 896.

Karm Ullah Kambū, b. *Shahbāz*, 518 and n. 3, forger, 530, A. visits, 774-75.

Kashmīr and *Kashmīrīs*, *passim*, wickedness of, 465, 724, 747, 752, 762-788, 796-99, assessment, 830-31. A. visits *rīshī*, 832-33, boat-journey to S. *Kashmīr*, 835, crooked character people, 877. A. visits, 943, *Kashmīrī* language begins to be spoken at Ratan, Panjab, 822.

Kāsū Afghān, also called Qāsim K., 147, his s., 879.

Khaibar Pass, *passim*.

Khalīfahābād in Orissa, 968.

Khān Kilān (Mīr Muḥ. K.), wounded at Sirohī, elder b. Shamsu-d-dīn Atgah, 46, 65, death, 231. See B. 322.

Khāndesh, army sent to, 279, 290, 380, 740, 915, 1045, 1047, Rājah of, killed, 1150, 1166, name changed for a time to Dāndesh or Dāndes in 1599. See I.G., XV, 229, interview with ruler, 1123, 1146, 1150, 1160.

Khānim Muḥtarima, 212 and *n.* 1.

Khān 'Ālam, or Chalma Beg, s. Kāmran's foster-b., 7, P.T., 16, 19, 21, sent E. prov., 57, 99, 115, 120, 135, takes Hājīpūr, 138-39, 145, killed in battle, 176. See B. 378.

Khānzāda Khānam d. M. Sulaimān, 214 and *n.* 3, 669, 744 and *n.* 3.

Khasrū, e.s. Jahāngīr, born at Lahore, August 1587, m. d. Rajah Bhagwant Dās, her title Shāh Begam, 799, Khasrū at school, 922, 955, 961, learns Indian philosophy, 995, rank of 5,000, 999, 1140, 1152 and *n.* 2, marriage 1211, M.'s suicide, 12, rank of 10,000, 1257.

Khizr Khwāja, husband Gulbadan B., his d. Selīma, 206 and *n.* 2, 611 and *n.* 2, 657 and *n.* The entries in P.T. of 553, 554 and 635, corresponding to pp. 840 and 842 of translation, refer to another Khizr Khwāja.

Khudābanda Sultān Muḥ., e.s. Shāh Tahmāsp and b. 'Abbās I, sends presents to A., 8, his blindness and his sister Parī Khānam's intrigues, 319-20, 893, 899, 992, 1021.

Khudāwand K. Deccanī, A. F.'s b.-in-law, 686 and *n.* 2, 786, 804, death in Pattan (Gujarāt) in 1589 A.D., 835 and *n.* 2. Later entries in P. list refer to another Abyssinian also named Khudāwand.

Kūc Bihar or Cooch Bihar, Qāq-shāls take refuge in, 170, 349 and *n.* 1, 622, 625, 650 and submission of ruler, Lachmī Narain, 1066-68, 1081-82, 1093-94.

L

The geographical entries under this letter are few and unimportant. Some well-known places are mentioned, such as Lahore. Lucknow, Ludiana and Lahori Bandar, but there are no details about them. Readers are referred to the Āin Akbarī vols. The personal list may also be much reduced.

Lachmī Narain, ruler Kūc (Cooch) Bihar, account of kingdom, 106 668, defeat of the Pātkunwar (Prince-Royal) 1081-82, 1093-94. The defeat of Rājah Mān Singh's son Durjan Singh is mentioned on p. 1093. The word in Persian text for a landed proprietor is *bumī*, and *bumiān* is used apparently for the plural. There is a long article on Mān Singh in the Darbār Akbarī, p. 535, but Durjan Singh's affair is only slightly touched upon on p. 537. Katrabū is mentioned in MS. Collector Douglas's letter of 1790. See A. N. 1093, *n.* 3. It was 'Īsā Khān's capital. The Mymensingh D. G., p. 168, has an account of 'Īsā Khān's parentage. The story of Mān Singh's challenge probably fictitious. There is an account of

- Mān Singh in Ma'āsir U. II, 160.
- Lahori Bandar, decayed sea-port in Sind, 972-73, made *Khālṣa*, i.e. Crown-property, 986, 1007, 1066.
- La'ī Kalānwāt, singer, 69 and *n.* 2, 82 and *n.* 2, his s., (?) 100, 145, 227. See B. 612 and *n.* He was of Gwalior and known as Miyān Lāl. See also Jahāngīr's Memoirs, 150.
- Lāla, e.s. Bīrbar, 1122, retires, 1200.
- Langar Kot, a fort, 778 and *n.* 2.
- Lashkar K., Mīr Bakhshī, 48, 89, 99, 131, 145, dies of wounds, 180. See B. 407. His name was Muḥ. Husain of *Khurāsān*.
- Lonikāthīs, Gujarāt tribe, 608 and *n.* 4. At 633 it is name of an individual.
- Lonkarn (Rai), salt-magnate, 237, 244, sent Dūngarpūr, 278, 295 and *n.* 4. His s. Manohar was a poet, 311, 422, 599, 632. See B. 494 and Jahāngīr's Mem. I. 17, 112, 231, death, 321.
- Lūdī or Lodī K., s. Sulaimān Kararānī, 28-31, put to death, 97-100.

M

M. is by far the largest letter in the Persian Index. I have omitted nearly all the geographical entries, for the historical part of the Akbarnāma has very little to say about them. Readers are referred by me to the admirable translations by Blochmann and Jarrett of the *Āin Akbarī*, supplemented in the case of Jarrett's second volume, by the additional Index to the geographical names by my friend Mr. William Irvine and Miss Lavinia

M. Anstey and published by the A.S.B., New Series, No. 1176, at Calcutta in 1910, in an extra fasciculus.

I beg leave to call special attention to Colonel Jarrett's 2nd and 3rd Volumes of the *Āin Akbarī* translation, for it is not so well-known as the almost classical translation of Vol. I, by Henry Blochmann. Blochmann's labours have also been described by the editor of the German Review, the Z.D.M.G., in 1878 or 1879. Jarrett's work was more difficult than mine, and he of course was a thorough Persian scholar. His two volumes contain many difficult passages, especially in Abu-l-Fazl's details about himself, and in the remarks about Hindūstān. His translation of Akbar's sayings might well be edited and published separately. It is also still worth while to look up Gladwin's translation (see the notice of him in the D.N.B.). He was a good Persian scholar and had the use of some good MSS. I would also once more suggest the translation and publication of the *Ma'āsiru-l-Umarā*, and of the *Darbār Akbarī*.

Mādhū Singh, nephew or cousin R. Bhagwān Dās, 49 and *n.* 1, 237, 244, 464, 519, 537, 715, 724, 734, 745, in Kābul, 778 and 782-83, in Kashmīr, 829, 864, does homage, 870, 1155, has rank 3,000 with 2,000 horse, 1231, 1249 and *n.* 1. See B. 418 where 48th year should be 49th. Perhaps, Mādhū was also adopted by Bhagwān.

Madhūkar Sāh, Bandilā R. Orcha, disobedient, 108 and *n.* 1, 294-95, defeated, 324-25, comes court, 379

- punished, 803. His s. Rām Singh does homage, 1122. Apparently Rām Sāh and Rām Singh are different. See Ma'āṣir II, 131, and A.N. translation 803 and note. Madhūkar was father of Bīr Singh, the murderer of A. F. The word Madhūkar seems to be a nickname, meaning that he made or dealt in honey. Death, 961.
- Māh Bānū, sister 'Azīz Koka, w. K. K. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, dies Ambala, 1117, 1120.
- Mahādeo, temple of, 7.
- Māhī B., dies, 283 and *n.* 2.
- Maḥmūd of Bhakkar (Sultān), besieged, 127-28.
- Do. Saiyid, of Bārha, 16, 61, 66, 81, 108.
- Do. s. Iskandar Afghān, his escape, 23.
- Majnūn K. Qāqshāl, 29, 99, 116, 135, 142, 145, 169, his s. Jabbārī, 1000.
- Makḥṣūṣ K., younger b. Sa'īd K., 241, 518, 533, at Jalālābād, 542, in charge armour, 585, 591, 879, in Orissa, 935, 937, with Salīm (Jahāngīr), 1247. See B. 38 and Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā III, 324.
- Māl Deo Rāo of Jodhpur, there are several entries in P.T. but he had been long dead, and the only thing interesting about him in the third vol. refers to his granddaughter-in-law's attempted *satī*. She was widow of Jaimal, a nephew of Bhagwān Das and she did not want to burn. She was e.d. of the Mothā (Fat) Rājah. Akbar saved her. Abu-l-Fazl, pp. 594-95 and *n.*, tells the story badly, for he does not mention the site of the proposed *satī*, nor how far A. had to ride. With regard to p. 595 *n.* 2, I am now inclined to think that *Chāstī* is right and that A. was breakfasting when the news came. The reference in note to p. 63 is wrong and should be 69. The account in Ma'āṣir U. II, 1100 under article Rūpsī, does not add to our information. See also D.A., p. 141 and Vincent Smith's Akbar, 226. The translation in Elliot is not good. Jaimal had no forces with him and it is not clear that he died of sun stroke. Jagannāth and Rāi Sāl came with A. Apparently only Udai is said to have been imprisoned. B. 427-8 and Mrs. Beveridge's Bābur, pp. 145 and 342, may be consulted. The occurrence was in 991 A.H.=A.D. 1583.
- Māl Gosain, ruler Kūch Bihar submits, 349 and *n.* 1, account of, 1067 and *n.* 4.
- Mālīgarh Fort, outwork of Asīr, 1163-67, taken by A. F.
- Do. four victories, 1171.
- Malik Mashriq, 10 and *n.* 2.
- Mālwa prov., Central I., 15, 25, many entries in P.T. Mozaffar Turbatī Gov., 48, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad, 241-42, officers sent for, 275, Shujā'at Gov., 337, Mīrzā Koka sent, 655, he and Naurang appointed to, 779, P. Murād put in charge, 911, 1029.¹
- Māmā Āghā, d., 990 and *n.* 4, 1066 and *n.* 2.
- Mān Singh Darbārī, 69, 80 and *n.* 1, 84, 519, his s., 782.

¹ Māmā Āghā was Shihābu-d-dīn's widow, 990 and *n.* 4, died, 1066.

Mān Singh Rājāh, adopted s. Bhagwān Dās, 8 and *n.* 5, requests permission to go ahead, 19, prevent A. from hurting himself, 44, 48, arrives from Udaipūr and does homage, 57, 62, 88, 93, 94, with A. on boat-journey, 123, called *farzand* and proceeds against Rānā, 236, Goganda battle, 244, 246, 259-60, 269, at Goganda, 277, 305, sent again against Rānā, 307, 339, 348, 358, protects Yūsuf Shāh of Kistwar, 409, 424, charge of Indus territory, 493, sends Shāh Manṣūr's papers to Court, 502, 508, sent Peshāwar, 518-19, battle against Kābulīs, 537, does homage, 539, arrives from Bengal, 1256, gets rank of 7,000, 1257. Bhāo Singh the only s. who survived him died in Deccan in 1030 or 1031 A.H. (1621 A.D.). Mān Singh also died in Deccan, in 1614 A.D. or 1023 A.H. See Tūzak J. I, 266. Mān Singh was given the pargana of Chaund in order to meet the expenses of keeping up Rohtās. See p. 125, *n.* Indus prov., 545, 669-71, Kābul, 704-5, 712, sent Kābul, 745, Khaibar victory, 734, 736, 739, 742, Kābul, 745, against Tārīkīs, 778-81, 785, negligent, 790, censured, 794, 801, Kashmīr, 830, styled Rājāh and has 5,000 rank, 863, sends Bihār

tribute, 872-73, Orissa conquest, 878-80, 924, Orissa again, 934, it submits, 940-41, Orissa successes, 967, Afghān disputes, 968, sends elephants, 985, ordered Deccan, 995, Rohtās, 997, Khusrū's tutor, 999, at Tānda, 1023, founds Akbarnagar (Rājmaḥal), 1042, marries Lacmī Narāin's sister, 1068, son dies, 1093, sends presents, 1133, 1140, son dies, 1141-42, 1151, 1155, defeats Bengal sedition at Sherpūr 'Atāī, 1174, Jessore victory, 1180, 1211, Dacca, 1213, Bhāwal, 1214, and Purneah, 1215, 1232, Kedār Rai and Magh Rājāh defeated, 1235, 1240, 1250. By far the best account of Rājāh Mān Singh seems to be that in the Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā II, 160-70. It does not say that 1,500 wives and concubines burnt themselves at his death. It says each of the 1,500 bore him one or two children, but that they all died before their father except Bhāo Singh and that he was a drunkard. Among other things the Ma'āṣir U. has a long and interesting account of the early history of Orissa and of its conquest in Sulaimān Kararānī's time. It has also detail of Mān's conquest of Orissa. The article on Mān Singh in the D.A. is not so good as I expected it would be.

Mān Singh Deohra, ruler of Sirohi, is mentioned in p. 7.

Maner, vill. Patna, d. p. 132 and n. 3. It says that the Sone joins Ganges there. There is an account of Shaiḡh Yaḡyā, s. Ismā'il, see n. 6 and p. 133 and n. 1.

Mānī, the painter and religious teacher, 283 and n. 3, and p. 998. See A.A., J.'s translation, Vol. III, pp. 336-37 and notes. It is curious that Abu-l-Faḡl and other orientals have much to say about Mānī's artistic abilities while European writers say so little about this.

Mānikzhāla, 853 and n. Perhaps this is the famous stupa which Elphinstone was perhaps the first European who noticed. See I.G., Vol. XVII, p. 182, where it is called Manikiāla.

Manṡūr Khwāja Shāh of Shīrāz, sent court by Mun'im K., 164, account of, 273-74. A. F. here speaks of his *josh-i-rashad*. This may mean stern rectitude for Rashad was Caliph Hārūn's title. Sent to inspect treasuries, 287, joined with Moḡaffar and Todar Mal, 303, mint arrangements of Jaunpur (Bangāla cannot here mean Tānda, for that is separately mentioned in A.A., B.'s translation, 31, so I presume Gaur is meant here), 321, enquires complaints against revenue officers, 360, to inspect treasury at capital, 374, another decennial settlement, 413-414 and n. 2, his strictness a cause of B. and B. (Bihār) rebellion, 431 and n. 3, dismissed and imprisoned, 461, alleged treason and his being sentenced and

hanged, 501-05 and notes 1 and 4. When A. arrived Kābul he learnt that Manṡūr was innocent. See T. Akbari in Elliot, V, 422 and 427; also Badayūnī, Lowe's translation, 300 and 303; and B. 430. Apparently, Manṡūr had a s. named Bakḡtiyār Beg who eventually became fief-holder of Siwistān. B. 474, No. 204.

Martazā Sabzawārī (Mīr), Berar fief-holder comes court, 686, 1050, his intrigues, 1148, 1157, does homage, 1166, 1180, 1189, 1199, 1209, 1212, 1236.

Mas'ūd Ḥusain M., younger b. Ibrāhīm Ḥ. M., 49, captured, 53, brought to A., 56 and n. 3. See B. 463, probably put to death.

Ma'ṡūm Bhakkarī (Mīr), pen-name Nāmī, a Tarmīzī Saiyid and s. Mīr Sofāī, poet and historian and a scholar and composer of Qandahar and other inscriptions, born in Bhakkar and died there in 1044 A.H. (1634), was in Bihār, 475, 591, 596, 610, 624, 642, long employed in Gujarāt, 656, 808, 887, 930-31, 1021, ambassador to Shāh 'Abbās of Persia, 1236-37, returns and brings letter from Shah's aunt, 1251. See Ma'āṡir III, 326, B. 514 and Bedi, p. 269.

Do. K. Farankḡdī s. Mu'īnu-d-dīn. His f. was Humāyūn's officer. See B. 432, 34, 36. Sarkār Ghāzīpūr granted to, 410, misconduct and disloyalty revealed, 483-87, battle at

Sultānpūr, Bilahrī in Oudh and victory Imperialists, January, 1581. Shāhbāz defeated in first battle and fled Jaunpūr 30 m. away, 496, second battle reversed this. Ma'sūm assassinated July 1582 at Fathpūr Sīkrī. Farankhūd said to be near Samarkand, see Yāqūt. P.T. 'very excusably mixed up the M. Farankhūdī with M. Kābulī. For account of assassination, see pp. 576-77.

Ma'sūm K. Kābulī, Muh. Ḥakīm's step-b. and a Saiyid of Turbat in Khurāsān. See Ma'āṣir U. III, 292 and B., 431 *n.* Becomes A.'s servant, 223-24, Orissa assigned to, 410, fief-holder, Patna, 418-19, rebels, 445-48, made rebel's vakīl and styled K. Daurān, 449, 451-52, 460-61, in Bihār, 470, makes night-attack, 472-73, flies Bengal and poisons Sharafu-d-dīn, 478, plunders Ghorāghāt, 592-93, 600, 619, et seq., 645, 651, 673, 676, defeated, 693, 696, 721-22, defeated, 1063, defeats Mān Singh's s., 1093-94, d., 1130, son submits, 1180. See Ma'āṣir U. III, 295.

Mathurā Dās Khatrī, 17, 518, 534, A. visits, 547, 812, 954, 1051-2, death by robbers, 1051-2.

Mattalib K., fief-holder, Mālwa, 36, 274, 338, 380, 446, 520 and *n.* 2, 530, 591, 617, 672, commands force against the Tārīkīs, 794, becomes insane, 796. See B. 403.

Mau, in Baksar (?), 883, R. Bāsū's territory in Kāngra, d. fort taken, 1084, 1206, 1208-9, Bāsū's offences forgiven, his flight, 1248-49, Nūrpūr is capital, I.G., XIX, 232.

Meteors, Perseids (?), 942 and *n.* 2, 300 little stars (sitārḥā) seen on 7th July 1592 by A. and Prince Daniel at the Rāmbārī garden, north of Lahore. An expedition against Qandahār was in progress but on seeing this strange phenomenon the army went back to Lahore! Is anything said in European books or in the Almanacs of Darbanga, etc., about it, and has it any connection with Shakespeare's lines about certain stars shooting madly from their spheres on account of Mary Stuart who was executed in 1587?

Miriam Makānī, also called Ḥamīda Bānū, A.'s mother, 83, 108, arrives camp, 348, 547, at her instance Ma'sūm (Farankhūdī) and Niyābat (also called 'Arab, B. 425) were pardoned, 566. 618, joins A., 709, A. sends her a verse, 834-35, along with Gulbadan B. and other ladies, she joins him in Kābul, 859, returns Fathpūr, 880, story of A.'s being tatooed, 884, she visits A., 901, at her request Selīm allowed interview, 1140, he avoids her, 1155, she and Gulbadan beg forgiveness for Selīm, 1222-23, visits Gulbadan on death-bed, 1226, brings Selīm to A., 1230, illness and death, 1244-46, 1251.

Motha Rajah (the Fat Rajah), s. Maldeo, ruler Jodhpūr. Real name Udai Singh. The Udai Singh of the *satī* stopped by A. may have been the Motha Rajah of p. 295 and 632, but he may have been Jaimal's s.; Motha R.'s d. bears a d. to Prince Selīm, 880, *n.* 2, and in 992 she gave birth to Shāh Jahān, 921 and *n.* 2, Motha R. goes Sirohī, 985, 1015, dies, 1027-28, and four wives committed *satī*. Motha R.'s d. had a d. It seems Shāh Jahān had two full sisters, B. 310.

Mozaffar K. Turbatī, had been ordered Mecca but restored to favour, 9, joins at Surat, 36, gov. Mālwa, 48, made vakīl, 93-94, 120, 146, distinguished services, 187-200, ordered Bengal, 238, 251-52, 266, 273, promoted, 303, at a conference, 320, at Delhi, 360, 374, goes Bengal, 386, 420, misbehaves, 427 and *n.* 1, 430-31, 443, defeat and d., 442-449.

Do. Gujrātī, found hiding in corn-field, 9, original name Nannū, early career 608, 610, besieges Baroda, 628, at Aḥmadābād, 633, 638, et seq., army sent against, 656, 679, 684, 709, 750, 808, 809, 902, et seq., capture and suicide, 962-65.

Do. Husain, s. Ibrāhīm H. and Gulrukḥ B., taken Deccan, 22, 23, 289-90, defeated and goes Junāgarh, 294,

301, captured, 330, brought court in chains, 379, 380, pardoned, 386, 571, married to A.'s d. Sultān Khānam, 990. See B. 464.

Mozaffar another, 423, Sulaimān of Badakhshān gave him his d. in marriage, 423 and *n.* 2.

Do. another, 886.

Mubārak Shaikh, f. A. F. and s. Khizr Khwāja. Born Nāgor in Jodhpūr, 911 A.H. (1505 A.D.), 55, 118, d. 967-90. A. F. does not say his f. drew up the famous document making A. the spiritual head of the people, but see *n.* 1 to p. 395. He does not even say that his f. saw the document. His f.'s name is included under the heading of great sages in the A.A. The document drawn up, 987 A.H., or the 24th year of reign and in August-September 1579. Author D.A. thinks Mubārak was probably a slave-girl's child. See his p. 328. A Spanish or Portuguese correspondent of the Times Literary Supplement, 1921, says that the word Imperbicado applied to Mubārak by Montserrat means stiff, or vain in Portuguese but should be written imptigado or empertigado. See Father Rudolf's letter in Father Goldie's First Christian Mission to the Moghul, p. 97 of ed. of 1897. Pertica means in Latin a pole or measuring rod.

Muḥibb 'Alī, s. Bābur's minister. Nizāmu-d-dīn Khalīfa.

B. warns us against confounding him with the Muhibb 'Alī styled Rohtāsī. In fact, the P.T. Index has mixed up three, if not four, different men. However the first two are the most important ones. The first, i.e. the Khalīfa's s., belonged to a Farghāna family and was the elder of the two men. There is a long biography of him in the Ma'āsir U. III, 238. He was a courtier and intriguer, his w. was Nābīd B., d. Qāsim Kokaltāsh, Bābur's foster b. Her m. was Māh. Cūcaq, d. Muqīm Arghūn. There is a mystery about Muqīm Arghūn and his family. But, perhaps, it is a mystery which attaches to all men and women who were born in remote times and places. Muhibb 'Alī, according to the Iqbāl-nāma, died in 991 A.H., but another account gives the date as 989. He wrote a book on falconry which is referred to in Rieu's Catalogue of Persian MSS. For mention of M. A., s. Khalīfa, see pp. 51, 127-29, 304 (where he is greatly praised). The last entry about him is 357 where we find him offered four

appointments and choosing that of gov. Delhi. He and his wife had much to do with Sind. See also B. and Ma'āsiru-l-U.

Do. Rohtāsī. He was a younger man than the Prime Minister's son, and a better man. He was an excellent soldier and did good work at Rohtās and in Bihar generally. A. F. gives an interesting account of his last moments. He had a son Ḥabīb who was killed before him. For M. Rohtāsī, see pp. 251, 280, 420-22, 453, 467-68, 470, 475, where it is stated that the whole country from Shahr Bahīra to Rohtās was made over to him. For Rohtās and Rohtāsgarh, see I.G., Vol. XXI, pp. 322-3. Rohtās is in the Punjab, and was named by Sher Shāh after Rohtāsgarh which is in the Sasarām subdivision of Shāhābād.

Muhibb 'Alī, a third, is M. A. Khawāja. see B. 546. And a fourth, (Mīr Muhibullāh), who was also a Khawāja. See pp. 596, 681, 710. He is B.'s No. 307. Mujāhid K. was M. A., s. Khalīfa's grandson and his mother's name was Sāmi'ah Begam. See translation A.N., III, 128.

Mun'im K., s. Mīram Beg, K. K. On Sulaimān Kararānīs d.

ordered conquer B. and Orissa, 6, asks help, 27, his neglect, leaves Chunār, 28, sends officers against Hājīpūr, 29, sets out from Muḥammadābād, takes omen from Hāfiz, 30, rebels defeated, 30, 31, orders to, 57, Todar Mal sent to help him, 58, 89, 100, 109, 114-15, 120, 131-36, 141-45, 147, 150, 152-53 and *n.* 2, 164, Takaroi battle and Mun'im's wounds, 169-80, 186, interview with Dāūd, 183-86, 189-90, 199-200, d. at Gaur, October 1575, 226-29, 255, l. 14 for Khān-Khānān read Khān Jahān, 273, 934. A. sends Mun'im royal falcon, 1014, murmurings of troops, 1129, line 11 and omit "and" before Aḥmad. B.'s account of Mun'im, pp. 317-18, with reference to famous Jaunpūr bridge, still in use, should be read. Mun'im's Ghane altogether a failure. Though M. said to have died of bad air of Gaur, it should be remembered that he was a very old man and also had old wounds. M.'s origin and early history little known. Apparently he was a Chaghata'i or Moghul. In A.N. he is often associated with Tardī Beg. Ma'āsiru-l-U. account, Vol. III, 667, is interesting and tells about history of Kararānī family of Afghāns in B. and Bengal. Much information about Mun'im in Bāyazīd Biyāt's Memoirs. See J.A.S.B. for 1898, p. 296. Bāyazīd was M.'s servant, and was present at many of his campaigns. World seems indebted for them to A. and A. F. But they are still only in MS. in B.M. and

India Office. Mun'im's f. was Mīram, and Bairam and he were M.'Askarī's guardians. Bāyazīd's Mem., I.O. MS., p. 87b, tells how Mun'im hanged Khwāja Mīrakī, diwan of Miriam Makānī, who was apparently the historian Nizāmu-d-dīn's g.f. Bāyazīd gives two chronograms of the building of Jāunpūr bridge. Stewart has account of bridge in Hist. Bengal. Mun'im married one of Bābur's concubines. See Bāyazīd's Mem., p. 122b, I.O. MS.

Murād (Sultān), A.'s second s., born at Fathpūr Sīkrī and hence called Pahārī, June 1570; m. was a concubine and so he was not the s. of Bairam's widow, was to have gone as far as sea with Gulbadan B. and others, but arrangement cancelled, 206, rank 7,000, 308, 329, taught letters, 388, Sharīf his guardian, 458, prince sent on towards Peshāwar, ordered advance from Bīkrām (Peshawar), 523-24, 531, victory, 532, weighment-day changed, 581, has charge household, 598, 733, re-called, 735-36, meets Sulaimān Badakhshānī, 786, marries 'Azīz Koka's d., 791, birth of s. (Rustam), 807, in Kashmīr, 819, 830, brings ladies, 853 and *n.* 6, 856, birth of s., 881, charge of Mālwa, 911-14, prince angry, takes a fort, 923, A. censures him, appointed Gujarāt, 982, 996, haughty manners,

- 1042, preparations for attacking Aḥmadnagar, 1045, rudeness, 1046, death of Ṣādiq the prince's guardian, 1074 and *n.* 2, M. Yūsuf made guardian, 1081, prince's unsatisfactory behaviour, 1103-04, A. F. sent bring him back, 1119, d., 1125-27 and *n.* 1, 1128-31. Evidently, Murād was the cleverest and best of A.'s sons, but his end was as tragic as the life and death of his two brothers. Father Montserrat's *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*, Mem., A.S.B. Vol. III, No. 9 for 1914, has many interesting references to him. See Index to the Commentare under word Pahārī, p. 684. Murād the only one of the three sons who showed soldierly qualities.
- Do. Mīr, Isfarāīnī. He was a Sazāwal, i.e. an inspector or collector (pursuivant?). A sazāwal was like the tākīdgīr of Bengal, 801 and *n.* 2, 813, 828, 853-54, 1115.
- Do. III, Sultān of Turkey, d., 1017, 1018.
- Do. s. Ya'qūb Beg, 896.
- (Muḥ.) Murād K., an officer, 33, 34, 36, 48, 228, 252, 254, 429, 469.
- Murshid Qulī, 900 and *n.* 1.
- N**
- Nād 'Alī (call on 'Alī) in Lahore, serving Muḥ. Ḥakīm, 508, afterwards serving A., 717 (not mentioned in translation), does homage, 1239. See B. 507-08. B.'s 26th year should apparently be 25th. Nād 'Alī had s. Bīzan or Bīzhan. See Jahāngīr's Mem., II, 160-61.
- Nahīd (name of Venus planet) Begum, d. Qāsim Koka, w. Muḥibb 'Alī, s. Khalīfa, B. 420.
- Nāhar K., 930, 1200.
- Do. Rāo, 739.
- Nāiks of Kashmīr, 768, 798, 822. They guarded the Passes.
- Nannū, nickname of Moẓaffar Gujrātī, 609.
- Naqīb K., 123, 135, 145, 422, 453, 460, has charge books, 585, 599, 825, 834.
- Nāqūsparistān, name in Index, p. 60, col. b., for Christian soldiers, but in P.T., p. 663, the words are *tarsā sipāh*.
- Narain Dās Ghelot, 433 and *n.* 5.
- Narayan Dās (Rai), landlord of Idar, seditious, 59, 92 and *n.* 1, 268 and *n.* 1, 632.
- Narnāla taken, 1115 and *n.* 3.
- Narsingh Deo of Orissa, s. Partāb Deo, 933 and *n.* 1.
- Nashūrnā, Portuguese lady, 350 and *n.*
- Nāṣir (Ṣūfī), from Balkh, interview with A., 335-36.
- Nāṣir Mīrzā, Bābur's half b., 976-77.
- Naulakā, m. of Dāūd, surrenders near Gwās (Murshidābād), 376, 420.
- Naurang K., s. Quṭbu-d-dīn, 33, 34, 36, 60, 89, 279, 363, 519, 535, 536, in charge dyes, 585, charge of buildings, 599, 614, 639, 642, taking of Broach, 657, 682, appointed Mālwa, 779, 808-09, 903, 909, 948, 962, Moẓaffar

Gujarātī's head stuck up as a trophy at Naurang's doorway 965, 979, Naurang dies near Junāgarh, 1001. See B. 334 and 372 *n.*, where it is stated on Badāūnī's authority that Naurang poisoned the poet Mailī.

Nāzir Dīwān (Mullā), 779.

Nekcerī, apparently mistake for Yenīcerī, that is, janisary, 1017, 1020.

Niyābat K. 'Arab, 123, 169, 175, punished, 480-81, 485-86, 496, 498, 511, pardoned, 566, death of s., 990.

Nizām Shaikh, 521 and *n.* 7.

Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, historian, his father Khwāja Muqīm of Herāt mentioned, 128, made Bakhshī, 596, 610, 611, 623, 624, 632, 642, 656, 682, 710, 779, in charge Gujarāt, 789, 800, 808, 924, 962, death, 1005 and *n.* 2.

Nizāmu-l-Mulk (Ibrāhīm), death, 1028, 1065, 1070-72, great battle, 1138, victories, 1171, 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Afzal K., s. Abu-l-Faḍl, his victory at the Mānjarā, 1185-86; see also B.'s Preface, XXXV.

Noṣair (or Naṣīr), a fanatic, 397 and *n.* 2.

Nuqra Kashmīrī, d. prostitute, mother of Yādgār, 954.

Places.

Nādot (Nāndod), Rājpipla, 267, 640.

Nagarcīn, 551.

Nāgarkot, fort, 51, 511 and *n.* 1, 884, 961, 1108.

Nāgarnagar (Harī Parbat, Kashmīr), 945, 1085 and *n.* 1, 1088, 1094.

Nagar Sūr, 1235 and *n.* 1.

Nandana, 513 and *n.* 1.

Nānder, 1185.

Nandī Marg, Kashmīr, 836 and *n.* 2.

Nārnaul, 154, 321.

Nārī Barārī, 823, 824 and *n.* 1.

Nāsik, taken, 1123, 1129, 1133, 1154, 1156, A. F. appointed Nāsik, 1173, 1175, 1180, 1189, 1193, 1196, A. F. goes to, 1201.

Nawāla Pass, 802 and *n.* 4.

Nīlāb Fort, 494.

O

Officers and Companions, Lists of, 123, 145.

'Omar S. Mīrzā, f. Bābur, 843.

Do. Ḥājī of Gujarāt, 609, and *n.*

Do. alleged s. Sulaimān Badakhshī, 1080.

Orissa, spelt Ūdesa in P.T. There are 35 entries in P.T. but many are negligible, 6, 28, 153, 167, 172, 174-82. See also B.'s note, 253-55, 429, 469, 499, 590, 600, 625, 674, 722, 878, 901, conquest of Orissa, 933, 940, 967-68.

Oude, there are also several entries in P.T. under Orcha, spelt Ūndeha in P.T., but they are unimportant.

P

Pādrīes of Portugal, Portuguese priests, 117.

Pādshāh Qulī, poet (?), 716 *n.*, omitted translation, see P.T., 475, pen-name Jazbī, B. 596, 753.

Pahār K., see Bahār K.

Paklī, 855, 874-75, etc.

Pālī, t., Jodhpūr, 835.

Pāmpūr, 835 and *n.* 3 (vill. Kashmīr), see Jahāngīr's Mem., I, 92-93, famous for saffron.

Pānchpahārī, five brick mounds near Patna fort, attack on, by the K. 'Ālam, 115, A. inspects, 137 (A. F. calls them five brick domes, *pānch gumbaz-i-khishtī*).

Panj Barāra, Kashmīr, 774, 836 and *n.* 1, 1083 and *n.* 3.

Parī Khānam, d. Shāh Tahmāsp, 311, 319, 898-99 and *n.* 2.

Partāb Bār Feringhī (Portuguese) and his w. Nashūrnā (?), pp. 349-50 and notes. Partāb, probable corruption of Tavares, a Portuguese Captain, 469 and *n.* 4.

Do. Rāna of Chitor and Udaipūr, s. Udaī and descended from Mahārāna Sāngā or Sangrām, often called Rānā Kīka, 48, receives Mān Singh, 57, 89, 92 and *n.* 1, A. marches against, 236, 244-47, 259, 267-69, 274-75, 277, 307, 339-40, 355, 380, 661, 705-06, death, 1069 (P.T. 717 on 7 Bahmān, Jan.-Feb. of 41 y. of reign, *n.* 2). See Ma'aṣir U. II, 201, under heading Rānā Karan.

Parwez Sultān, s. Jahāngīr, born Kābul, end Oct. 1589. Apparently, d. birth 998 A.H. Jahāngīr says in Mem., Khasrū born 24 Amardād, 995, and that Parwez born two years, two m. later. So if Khasrū b. Augt. 1587, Parwez b. Oct. or Nov. 1589. See A.N. translation, III, 859 and P.T. 568; Zain Koka made guardian, 875, 888, P.T. 655. M. dies, 1133, 1140.

Patan or Pattan, city, Gujarāt, formerly Nahrwāla, A. encamps at, 8-9, 27, 32, 46, K. K. dies at, 231. Another Pattan, known as

Pākpattan, A. visits, 335 (in Montgomery d., Panjab, I.G., XIX), 465, 845 and *n.* 4 (a place in Kashmīr); Pattan, Somnath, 980; Pattan of the Deccan, 1110; Mungī Patan, 1144 and *n.* 2. Patna, city, Bihār, 28-29, Dāūd takes refuge in fort, A. besieges it, 101, 109, 114-15, 127, 129 and *n.* 1, 135, 137, 140-42, mint in, 321 and *n.* 4, 418, 452, 470-71, 476, 574.

Patr Dās (Rai), afterwards Rājah Bikramājīt, 386, 432-34, 449, 460, 590, made Dīwān, 779, 879, Delhi first made over to, 924, 1059, takes Bāndhū fort, 1104, made Dīwān, 1108, charged with taking bribes and removed, 1134, has rank of 3,000, 1177, Rājah Bikramājīt Bahadūrīa (?) and his uncle Rai Mukund get appointments, 1249. See B.'s article, 469, which is based on Ma'aṣirul-Umarā, II, 139. See also Jahāngīr's Mem., I, 22, 50, 176. J. says Rāi Patr was a Khatrī and says it was he himself gave him title Rajah Bikramājīt. See also I.G., VI, 350 and XXI, 281, though the statement that Bikramājīt was a minor and connected with Rewah family seems wrong. There was also another Bikramājīt whose proper name was Sundar Dās. See J.'s Mem. II, Index, p. 304, and Vol. II, p. 256, which speaks of his death. Pāyinda Muḥ. K., 145, 175, 307, 466, 475, 599, 632, 641, 801, 1249.¹

¹ There are several Pāyindas and the P.T. has a good many entries against them. But none of the men seems to have been of much importance. Two of

Peshāwar, P.T., Index, 73, *passim*.

Pesh Bulāq. fort, Afghānistān, 780 and *n.* 4.

Peshrau K., called by Jahāngīr Mihtar Sa'adat, 123, imprisoned, 240, 260 and *n.* 3, 409, 467, 660, 1146, 1165 and *n.* 1. See also Jahāngīr's Mem., 149-50, though a hard drinker, he lived to over 90.

Pīr Panjāl, pass, Kashmīr, 409, 765, 823, 946, 955, porters lost in, P.T., 648.

Pūran Mal, Rājah of Gidhaur, 150, 696, 872; another man, 925, at p. 734 called Karidhurī. Is this a mistake for Gidhaur? There was also a Pūran Mal who was Rājah of Cānderī and who was treacherously killed by Sher Shāh. He was a Kachwaha.

Pūrbandar, seaport, Gujarāt, 980.

Q

Qāān Buzurg, (Chingīz), pestilence in his time, 1226 A.D. or 623 A.H., 840, cured by use of henna, 939-40, delete the f. after "great", p. 939.

Qandahār, city (Kandahar of I.G., XIV), 166-67, embassy from, 294, 715, army sent against, 886, 917 and *n.* 4, P. Daniel sent to, 921, 942, 976, 992, 1010, 1026, taking of, 1232-33.

Do. Qandahār or Qandhar in Haidarābād, Deccan (I.G., XIV, 377), 604 and *n.* 1.

Qāqshāls, Turkish tribe, 29 and *passim*. See B. 369, *n.* 2.

Qāsim K. Mīr Baḥr (admiral), famous for making mines, 25, 123, 248, 277, gov. Agra (he built the fort), 374, 454, made bridge, 523, built rest-houses, 559, charge aromatics, 585, 599, 709, misbehaviour, 796, 798, mends roads, 817, 829, 851, 928, death and punishment of his murderer M. Zamān impostor and illegal s. M. Shāhrukh, 1001-03. See Ma'āshiru-l-Umarā, III, 62. Qāsim conquered Kashmīr and was assassinated at Kābul, 1002, in 39th year of A.'s reign, 1593-94. Several Qāsims are mentioned, see B.'s *n.*, p. 380 on the Saiyids of Bārha. Though a good many names of persons are mentioned in the P.T. under Q, yet very few are of importance.

Qatlū K. Lohānī, also called Kararānī, Afghān, prominent in Orissa. See B. s.v. 98, 99, 253, 469-70, 567, 590, defeated, 600-02, 619, submits, 653, 879, d., 880.

Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī, made Bakhshī, 428, 546 and *n.* 3, released, 865, 877 and *n.* 3, sent Kashmīr, 906, 944-46, killed, P.T. 627.

Qismiyyah Bānū, 167, A. marries her in 19th year of reign, B. 618, called in A.N., III, Qīma. She is also called Qasīma, 167 and *n.* 3. She was d. 'Arab Shāh. Qasīma means beautiful. I have not found who 'Arab Shāh was, 167.

Qiyā K., 30, 99, 145, 175, in Orissa, 429, 469, killed, 499-500.

them, Pāyinda Ḥasan Ghaznavī and P. Qulī Mogha, translated a small part of Bābur's Mem. See Ethè's Catalogue of Persian MSS. in I.O., *n.* 214.

Qulīj K. Andijānī, B. 34, n. 2 and p. 354 (No. 43), gov. Sūrat fort, 44, 59, 231, 269, 276, 280, made Vizier, 504, 808-09, gets Sarkār Sambol, 817, 877, 902, 924 and n. 1, P.T. 647. Qulīj's d. married to P. Daniel, P.T. 648, Afghānistān put in Q.'s charge, 1004, birth of Bulāqī, B. 1021, 1051, 1066, 1073, rank raised to 4,500, 1076, 1112, P.T. 834, gets charge Jaunpūr, P.T. 839.¹ Qulīj K. lived in Jahāngīr's reign and died in the year 1613, or 1614 A.D., or 1022-23 A.H. See B. 354, n. 2 which corrects his p. 34. The M. Umarā notice is Vol. III, pp. 69-74. It gives the curious story of a *revenant* quoted by B. 355. See also Jahāngīr's Memoirs, I, 253. There is a reference to Qulīj K. in the record of Akbar's "Sayings," Col. Jarrett's translation of Āīn Akbarī, Vol. III, p. 392.

Qutbu-d-dīn Muḥ K., in Mālwa, sent Gujarāt, 25, (he was y. b, Shamsu-d-dīn Atgeh, see B. No. 28, p. 333), 32, 34-35, 47, 60, 89, promoted to 5000, 257, 269, 274, does homage, 380, made Selīm's (Jahāngīr) guardian, 401 and n., appointed against Portuguese ports, 409-10 and n., 607, 613-14, his slackness and death, 626-29 and 965.²

Qutlaḡ Nigār Khānam, Bābur's m., 843.

R

There are numerous entries under letter R, but few are important. Many under titles Rajah, Rānā and Rao appear in this Index under other letters.

Rai Rai Singh, s. Kalyān Mal of the Māldeo family and Bikānīr, B. 357, sent Jodhpūr, 8, 50, 61, which last entry should be Rai Singh, and not Rām Singh, at Surnāl battle, 81 and 85-86, 113-14, 155, many entries in P.T., none very important, d. married Jahāngīr, 749, does homage, 853, sent Bikānīr, 881, censured, but forgiven, 1068, 69, his folly referred to in J.'s Memoirs, 438, d., 217-18. See B. No. 44 and Ma'āṣir U. II, 148. Besides giving d. to J. he gave his niece to A. He died 1021 A.H. or 1613 A.D. His s. Dalpat gave J. much trouble.

Do. Sal Darbārī, B. No. 106, a Shaikhawātī Rājput, 17, 69, 551, 1117, his rank of 2,500, P.T. 809.

Do. Rāyān, appointed Deccan, P.T. 806, 812, 816.

Rāmbārī Gardah, Panjab, beyond Rāvī, where Perseid motions seen, 942-43. Also apparently called Rām Dās garden, 995, A. retires there, 1028, 1049.

Rām Chand Kachwāha, 69 and *passim*. B. 389.

¹ The entries of Qulīj K.'s name are numerous. I have omitted some of them.

² Owing to absence of some fasciculi of my translation I have occasionally been obliged to quote the Persian original; they are marked P.T. (Persian Text), and as the pages of the text are marked in the margin of the translation, there will be no difficulty in finding them.

Rām Dās Kachwāha, 69, 91, 660, 673, 819, 825.

Ranthambor, 258, 285.

Rohtās, fort in Bihār, 146, 189, 265, 475.

Do. in Panjab, 514, 709, 835, 869, 955, 961.

Rudolf Acqaviva, Catholic Priest, the Radīf of P.T. and the Saint Rudolf of R. C. Hagiology, 368-69 and *n.* 1, corresponding to P.T. 254. See in Jarsee and Father Goldie's monograph, Dublin 1897, and General Maclagan's article in J.A.S.B. Father Montserrat's Latin Report (Commentaries), Memoirs A.S.B., Vol. III, 9.

Rūpa (Bībī), A.'s nurse, d., 908.

Rūpsī, father of Jaimāl, 69, 231, 310.

Rustum, s. Sultān Ḥasan, grand-nephew Shāh Ṭahmāsp, styled Ṣafavī, 992, 1011, 1030, 1041, 1060, 1084, 1117, 1120, also called Qandahārī. See Ma'āṣir U. II, 434, for Mīrzā Rustum and do. IX, 296 for M. Moẓaffar; another Rustum, s. S. Murād and K. A'zam's d., birth, 807, put to school, 995, 1064, death, 1096-97 and notes 3 and 4. The grand-father of the two Qandahārī Mīrzās was Bahrām, brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and their father was a Sultān Ḥusain.

S

S. is a very big letter of the Index for it includes three Arabic or Persian letters, to wit, Sīn, Shīn and Ṣād.

Sa'adat 'Alī K., holds pargana Tamsdāin, 418 and *n.* 3, 452, 475 and *n.* 1.

Originally a rebel, but reformed; he held Fort Kant but killed by rebels, and 'Arab drank his blood.

Do. Bānū B., d. Prince Daniel, 937, 1254.

Do. K., 1047 and *n.* 2, 1154, 1181, 1185, 1196.

Do. Yār Koka, 272 and *n.* 1, d. marries A. F.'s s., 878, dies of drink, 1006.

Ṣadāiq, fabulous animal, supposed to have destroyed immense bird-life in Tūrān, 857 and *n.* 2.

Sa'dī the poet, mentioned, 894.

Ṣādiq K., B.'s Qādiq, 355 and Ma'āṣir-ul-Umarā II, 724. A Persian and s. Bāqir of Herāt, Bairam's stirrup-holder (*rikāb-dār*). At Sirohī, 7, 10, 17, at Sūrat, 22, Gujarāt, 66, 90, 123, 132, at Ḡausā, 146-47, deprived of fief for losing elephant, 149, pardoned, 201, 203, gets fief, 223, on mission Agra, 287, against R. Madhukar, 295, 324-326, 379, 422, 452, 460, 467, good behaviour at Gaya, 473, 476, in Bihār, 567. Charge gold and silver, 585, 590, 600-02, 620, quarrel with Shāhbāz, 622, 645, 653, 675-76, 722, attacks Sehwān, 750-51, charge Multān, 779, does homage, 792, 806, 809, 812, 818, 828, 854 and *n.* 1, 877, 947, 961, guardian P. Murād, 985, 1046-47, 1048, 1059, victory, 1065-66, d. in Shāhpūr, Deccan, 1074, 1141, his s. Zāhid Beg, 1209, 1239. "Ṣādiq one of A.'s best officers," B. 357.

Saffron, beautiful beds of, at Pāmpūr in Kashmīr, 957.

Sa'id K. Chaghataī, s. Ya'qūb Beg, gov. Multān. See long account

of him in Ma'āshir U. II, 403 and B. No. 25. Captures Ibrāhīm and Mas'ūd Mīrzās, 53 and *n.* 1, 61, 89, 241, guardian P. Daniel, 288, Gov. Panjāb, 356, 380, 423, 508, 529, fief in Sambal, 587, 625, gets 3,000 rank, 629, 676, 696, charge Bihār, 779, 801, censured but pardoned, 807, d. his d. by Selīm, 816, gov. Bengal, 878-79, illness, 935, returns Bengal, 940, brings 100 elephants, 1031, sent Bihār, 1060, homage, 1120. He kept 1,200 eunuchs, connected by marriage with A.'s family, see A.N. and Jahāngīr's Mem.

Saif Ullāh, s. Qulīj K., 705, 967.

Do. K. Koka, e. b. Zain K., wounded, 26, 64, 68, killed, 82-83, 87, A. pays his debts (he was A.'s foster b.), d. of s., 1160, see B. 350.

Do. (*saiif* means sword) -ul-Mulk, 10, 306, 698, 892.

Sakīna Bānū, 351, 352 and *n.* She was A.'s half-sister, d. P.T.¹ 839.

Sambal, a slave, frees Shāh Beg, 977 and *n.* 2.

Sām Mīrzā, b. Tahmāsp, 896, 1120.

Sangrām (R.), of Kharakpūr, submits, 150, 261, 696, 872, 934-35.

Sānwal Dās Jādūn, 69, 518, wounded, but A. cures him, 652, 1065, see B. 525.

Sarjan Hāra (Rai), of Ranthambhor, Chunār given in fief to, 223, his rebel s. Deora, 258, punished, 284, brought to court, 354, 422, 453, 519, 591, 598. Deora dies, 706.

Sātilmish Khātūn, exercises right of e.w., 841.

Sāzdū Sāl and Nairam Sāl; these two names appear on p. 600, top line of P.T., but perhaps text corrupt. I do not know what men or class they refer to. They also appear on the P. Index as persons and there are variants at foot of p. 600.

Selīm (Jahāngīr), born Fathpūr Sīkrī, 31st August 1569; e.s. Akbar; put to school, 105, 206, illness, 288, rank, 308, 348, 353, Qutbu-d-dīn guardian, 401, 495, 559, d. born, 746, makes two marriages, 748-49, birth Khasrū, 799, d. born, 816, 821, misbehaviour, 824-25, 829, two ds. born, 880, birth Shāh Jahān (Sultān Khar-ram) at Lahore, 921 and *n.* 2, 931, 943, 955, marries a Kashmīrī Cak, 958, 960, marries Nūru-n-nisā d. Gulrukh B. who was d. Kāmran and m. Mozaffar Husain, M.B. 464 and 477 *n.*, marries R. 'Alī K. of Khāndesh's d., 982, 990, 997 and *n.* 1, d. born, 1015, another d., 1031, marries Zain K. Koka's d., 1058-59, wife (R. 'Alī K.'s d.) dies, 1063, 1083, misconduct, 1088, d. born, 1094, 1102, A. F. offends prince, 1104, 1131, misbehaviour, 1132, has leave to go Ajmīr, 1140, misbehaviour, 1155, when he was rude to Miriam Makānī (Humāyūn's widow), goes

¹ I have occasionally noted the Persian Text page for want of the printed copy of translation. This will cause no difficulty, as the P.T. is, as a rule, inserted in the margins.

Allahabad, 1210, 1217, 1222-23.
 Do. s. of Fathpūr, 54 and *n.*, death of s., 209, of g.s., 706.
 Do. Shāh, s. Sher Shāh, 647.
 Do. Zemīndār, 764.
 Selīma Sultān B., widow Bairām and afterwards A.'s wife, 205, sent to Jahāngīr, 1223-24, 1226-28. [206.
 Do. Khānam, d. Khizr Khwāja, Seōrās, Jain ascetics, 93.
Shādmān, general, 493-94, 502, defeated by Mān Singh, do. do. s. 'Azīz Koka, 982, P.T. 804, where his rank becomes 1,000, P.T. 825, rank raised to 1,500.
Shāh 'Alī Langā, s. Bakhshū Langā, 65 and *n.* 1.
 Do. Beg. Several persons of this name or title. The first of them is Shāh Beg Arghūn, s. Zu-l-Nūn, see B. 362. He is also called Shujā Beg and may be distinguished as the Shāh Beg of Bābur's Mem. But he is only incidentally referred to in Vol. III of A.N.; see p. 977, for account of how a slave rescued him from prison. At 596, another Shāh B. mentioned, and also at 706. He too was an Arghūn but he is generally known as Khān Daurān; he was s. Ibrāhīm Beg. See B. 377; see also 713, 734, 792. Builds fort, 809. Another Shāh Beg, namely the famous Uzbek Shaibānī, is referred to at p. 843; the S. B. of p. 853 is the Khān Daurān; and so also is he of 863, 887,

929, 972 and 973. At 896, the S. B. is Shaibānī Uzbek; at 976 Bābur's S. B. is referred to; at 979 it is the K. Daurān who is meant; and so also at 993, 999, 1000, 1015, 1020, 1030, 1043. Rank raised to 3,500, 1076, 1160 (?), his presents, 1211, rank raised to 5,000, 1225, 1233, 1240. The Khān Daurān is several times mentioned in J.'s Mem. He died when nearly 90 years of age, J.'s Mem., II, 172. See his biography, Ma'āşir U. II, 642.

Do. Budāgh, 32, 35, 274, 338, 371-72, No. 52 of B.

Shāham K. Jalāīr, B. 410, 25, 27, at Patna, 137, 145, 173, 175, 178, 183, 228, 252, fief holder Hājīpūr, 419, 452, 476, comes from Tirhut. 544, 567, 786, 806, 809, homage, 853, guardian Rustum, s. P. Murād, 1064, 1066, censured and removed, 1118, death at Asīr during siege, 1156. Shāham Jalāīr was an old and valued servant of Akbar, and his father Bābā Beg sacrificed his life in attempting to save Hājī B. and others of Humāyūn's ladies at Chausā. The article Shāham J. will be found on p. 603, of Vol. II of the Ma'āşir U. But date of death, and perhaps also place thereof, are wrong. A.N.'s date is 5 Shahriyār of the regnal year 45 (August 1600).

Shāhbāz K. Kambū. See Ma'āşiru-l-Umarā II, 590 and B. No. 80, 13, 15, 17, punished 23, 30, 65, 123, 132, 142, 167, 237, sent against R. Gajpatī, 239-44, also

against Jagdīspūr fort and final destruction Gajpatī, 260-68, taking Shergarh, 266, at Sāmbhar lake 406, against Rānā Partāb, 459, 468, spoilt by success, 476-77, 485, defeated in Oude, but afterwards victorious, 486-88, improved conduct, 496-99, does homage, 546, imprisoned 550-51, 566, released 584, sent Bengal, 594, charge army, 599, 619-20, quarrel with Ṣādiq, 622, 645, 650, 653, unsuccessful Bengal, 657, 659-60, pursuivants (*Sazāwalān*) put him right, 672, 675, 695, behaves badly to Sangrām, 696, ordered again Bengal, 701, 721, Bakhshī Bengal, 779, his garden, 790, arrives Court 807, 813, made Provost-Marshal, 817, 818, 838, homage, 853, victory at Buner, 867, imprisoned, 885, released, 985, and *n.* 1, P. Murād's guardian, 991, 995, 1042, loots Aḥmadnagar, 1046, 1052, conveys treasure, 1060, deprived Mālwa 1069, comes Court, 1092, sent Ajmīr, 1120, dies there, 1142. His character, 1142, *n.* 2. His b. Karm Ullāh the forger, p. 518 and *n.* 3, is three times mentioned in third vol. A.N. One significant reference occurs p. 530 (last line p. 360), where it is said that prudent people did not put much faith in his statements; yet Akbar visited him, p. 775, translation, top line!

Shāh Jahān; see Sultān Kharrām.

Do. Madad Koka, A. spears him when brought as a prisoner before him, 84.

Do. Muḥ. of Shāhābād (Maulānā), translator and poet, 1110 and *n.* 1.

Shāhrukh, s. Ibrāhīm and g. s. Sulaimān of Badakhshān, his m. was d. Shāh Muḥ. Kashgharī. She was known as the Khānam and as Muḥtarima, 212, 222, 229, 231, arrival envoys, 295-96, 353, 388, 423-24, 617, 652, 662, 670, 713, sent Kashmīr, 715, 738, 744, 747, 759, 769, 774, 775, 864, 871, marries A.'s d. Shakru-n-Nisā, 990, 995, 1002, 1052, 1055, rank increased, 1069 and *n.* 1, 1071, 1092, homage, 1116, 1120, 1123, 1134, 1137, 1175, 1229, 1232. Shāhrukh died in Mālwa (Ujjain) in 1607. See Jahāngīr's Mem., I, 119. His seven children brought court, do., 137. He was also married to a d. of Muḥ. Hakīm. See Ma'aṣir U. III, 329.

Shāhzāda Khānam, A.'s e.d., 1130 and *n.* 2, 1131.

Shaikh Yaḥiā, i.e. John of Maner, see Yaḥiā, 132 and *n.* 6, 133.

Do. Mīrzā. Original name Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā, Humāyūn changed it to Shāh Mīrzā. He was s. Ulugh Mīrzā and grandson Sultān Husain the famous ruler of Herāt. Sultān Husain's d. was Shāh Mīrzā's mother. Shāh M. came to India in Bābur's time and was afterwards given by Akbar pargana A'zampūr in Sambal. See B. 461 and the Ma'aṣir U. III, 192, from which B.'s account is taken. In his old age Shāh Mīrzā had four sons. The Sambal Mīrzās were Persians and Timurids, but they were cause of mischief in India. A late member of

family, Mozaffar Husain M. married A.'s eldest d. Sultān Khānam. The Mīrzās figure in A.N., III, on pp. 15, 16, 27, 32-33.

Shaiikh Qulī K. Maḥram, an old officer of Humāyūn, '16, 19, 21, sent Sūrat, 22, 27, 48, 63, 78, against Rānā, 89, 113, 122, gov. Panjāb, 230, neglects duty, 237, censured, 356-57, guards s. Manṣūr, 462, 484, 495, homage, 335, 547, 567, 585, 590, defeats Bahādur Kāruh, 602 and n. 4, 620, wounded in Bengal, 659, 673-74, 676, 695, comes from Bengal, 699, 715, 738, 743, 778, Delhi made over to, 779, 874, 909, has rank of 4,000, 1049, 1111, accompanies Jahāngīr Ajmīr, 1140, his servants ordered bring Datman Dās to court, but the latter fought and was killed, 1181, has audience, 1189, gov. Kābul, 1196, b. promoted, P.T. 805. It was Shāh Qulī who captured Himū, see B. 359. He was a Bahārlū. Death and character, 1197. See also 1196 and Ma'āṣir-U. II, 605. Shāh Qulī Maḥram had curious career. His success in capturing Himū turned his head, and he, like Khān Zamān and Mozaffar of Turbat, and the great emperor Bābur, became infatuated by the abominable Central Asian vice of sodomy, and became for a time a *jogi* and went into forest because Akbar, to his great credit,

detested the vice, and insisted on Shāh Qulī's giving up his catamite. See the interesting remarks of editor of Ma'āṣir-U., and his rather shuffling view of Shāh Qulī's conduct and of Akbar's severity at p. 606 of Vol. II. Also at p. 607, the account of origin of Shāh Qulī's title of Maḥram, i.e. the confidant, admitted to the Harem.

Shakra-n-Nisā, a name which recalls that of Waller's flame Sackinssa, fell ill, 937, but lived on to Shāh Jahān's reign. See Tuzuk J. I, 36 and n. 1.

Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfi (Khawāja) or Khawāfi, B. 445, s. Khawāja 'Alāu-d-dīn, 93, accompanies Mozaffar K. against Rohtās, 146, 188-89, 191, 193-95, 197-99, 432, 442, wounded, 443-49, escapes, 460-61, 458, in charge Atak fort, 521, 712-13, 716, 745, Bakhshī of Kabul, 779-780, 792, 802, sent to assess Kashmīr, 830, buries Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ, 851-52, made Dīwān, 864, several prov. made over to, 924, 943, homage, 958, Kashmīr entrusted to, 959, 966, 983, 987, reforms coinage, 1001, made Dīwān-i-Kul, 1004, 1029, 1108, left in Lahore in charge, 1115, death and character, P.T. 772. There is a long account of Shamsu-d-dīn and of district of Khawāf and its distinguished men in M. Umarā but it is hidden away in the first volume, the entry being made under adventitious title of Khawāja; see p. 664, thereof. It would appear from page 93, n. 1, of the translation

of the A.N. that Shamsu-d-dīn was a writer as well as a man of action.

Sharafu-d-dīn of Pānīpat, 133 and *n.* 3.

Do. Husain M., brought Court a prisoner, 41-43, 448-49, 451, 460, 470, death, 477-78. He was s. Khwāja Mu'in who made fortune out of jade See B. 322. He married Bakhshī Bānū, A.'s half-sister. See Noer's Akbar, translation.

Sharīf, s. 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad, 861 and *n.* 2, also B. 517.

Do. b. Naqīb, 125 and *n.*, killed at polo, 242-43, debts paid.

Do. Armanī, 1123 and *n.* 2. Note. The P.T. has many entries under head Sharīf Atgāh, see p. 45 of P. Index. But he was not the Atgāh killed by Adham K., but his b.; see B. 383. Abu-l-Fazl, however, also calls him Atkah or Atgāh, 274, 339, 458, 878, his s. killed by his womenkind, 881, he was gov. of Ghaznī, 993, was sent to guard it, 1004, 1072, was removed from Ghaznī, P.T. 815.

Do. Wuqū'ī of Nishāpūr in Persia, a poet, died, 1002 A.H. (1594). See B. 596, also p. 1000 and *n.* 3 of my translation A.N.

Do. Āmulī (Mīr), sent Afghānistān, 718 and *n.* 6, 781, 819, 830, entrusted with four great offices and sent Bengal, 916, sent Srīnagar

in Kashmīr, 846, 1077, 1103, Ajmīr given in fief to, 1114, 1122, P.T. 779, in charge Sarkār Bahrāich, 834, P.T. He was a heretic and is much abused by Badāyūnī. See B. 176 and 452. See long and interesting account of Sharīf in Ma'āṣir U. III, 285, where it is tucked away under trivial name of Mīr. See also B. on the Nuqtawīah sect, p. 452. Āmul is a town on the Oxus, Elliot's History, II, 137 *n.*

Sharīf Sarmulī, made Bakhshī, 753. He was a poet and also had the name of Wuqū'ī, B. 516 and 591.

Do. Wuqū'ī, poet, B. 591, death, 1000 and *n.* 3.

Sher Afgan, that is, tiger-thrower, was s. Qūch Beg. His real name was 'Alī Qulī Istajlū and he was table-attendant of Shāh Ismā'il II. The title Sher Afgan is said to have been given to him by Jahāngīr when he was Prince Selīm. It was Akbar who gave Nūr Jahān in marriage to Sher Afgan in order to prevent Selīm from marrying her. Perhaps A.'s interference was a pity. Sher Afgan's f. is said to have been slain in trying to protect Miriam Makānī. But the story, as told in B. 455, and which is borrowed in great measure from the Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā II, 572, life of Sher Afgan's s. Shiroza, cannot be correct if, as B. says, it refers to the disaster of Chausā, for Miriam Makānī was not present there and

was not then Humāyūn's wife. If the story be true it must refer to Hājī Begam. In the A.N., III, Sher Afgan is thrice mentioned, viz. at 650, 715 and 718, of the P. T. In the first mention it is said that A. made Shiroza a Khān as a reward for his father's services. This was in the 39th year of the reign. The account of Shiroza will be found at 572-73 of Vol. II of the Ma'āşir U. We are not told if Shiroza was Nūr Jahān's s., or if she was only his step-mother. For Shiroya or Shīroya, see 175, 177, 363, 519, 591, 613, 632, 794, 795, 1000, when he was made a Khān, sent to Ajmīr, 1006, where Shiroza should be Shīroya in the translation.

Sher Khwāja, a gallant officer under A., Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. See B. 459 and A.N. 363, P.T. 508 and 718 of A.N.

Sherī (Mullā), a poet. He wrote the satirical lines about A.'s rising claims of divinity. See B. 197 and 610. He was killed in the Chakdara Pass, n. of Peshāwar, along with Bīrbar in 30th year of reign, 732, and also 716, where name omitted in translation.

Shī'as, 76 and 804-05.

Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. See B. 332 and Ma'āşir U. II, 567. A Saiyid of Nīshāpūr, and one of

Humāyūn's officers, 91, 122, gets rank of 5,000 and sent Mālwa, 241-42, does homage, 274, sent Khāndesh, 279, gov. Gujarāt, 306, 363, P.T. 389¹, 597, 607-12, 623, 632, 642, 657, gov. Mālwa, 687, 701, 739, Allahābād made over to, 779, 803, 865, death and character, 885. He made or improved a canal and did good work at one time, but he was too old and feeble in Gujarāt. He was related apparently to Māham Anga; he died in Ujjain; death of widow Māma Āghā who was related to A.'s m., 1066 and n. 2, 1129. The conjunction "and" between Shihābu-d-dīn and Aḥmad should be removed.

Shīr-Dat, brahman, 772 and n. 1.

Shujā'at K. His name was Muqīm 'Arab and he was sister's son and son-in-law of Tardī Beg. See Ma'āşir U. II, 557. He was gov. of Mālwa and was murdered at Sārangpūr by his mutinous soldiers. He is not the father of Bāz Bahādur, the musician and lover of Rūpmatī. Bāz Bahādur was s. of Shujāwal or Shujā'at K. Sūr. See Ma'āşir U. I, 387. See also B. 428 and 371.

Sikandar or Iskandar (several persons so called). (1) Sikandar Uzbek, death of, 29, 933. (2) S. Khān, 170. (3) b. Khān Jahān, the rebel, 175. (4) S. Caknī, 454, 593, 620. (5) (Mīr) S., 508. (6) S. K., f. great

¹ The Mīrzā K. of P.T. 389 is evidently not the Mīrzā K. who was s. of the great Bairām the Khān Khānān. He was an inhab. of Nīshāpūr and related to Shihāb. He is entered in P.T. Index on p. 60, col. a, top of p. See B. 502, No. 303, pp. 624 and also 1116, where my remark identifying him with the K. K. is wrong.

- “Abdullah K., 665, 753, 763. (7) Sultan Sikandar, or Alexander the Great, 716, 1097-98. (8) S. Rafīq, 753. (9) S. Beg, 925. (10) Sikandar K., s. of Tāhir, 1169.
- Siyāwash, his ordeal, 1105 and *n.* 6.
- Sulaimān M., b. Khān M., king, Badakhshān, comes to Court, 208, account of, 211-22, 229, has leave to go to Mecca, 231, 236 423-25, 493, 617, 652, 662-70, 780-81, arrival Court, 785, dies Lahore, 836-37, a s. of his, 1080.
- Do. Khwāja, his cowardice, 503 and *n.*, 695, 697, 903, 936, 967.
- Do. Kararānī, ruler B. and O., d. of, 5-6, 28, 933, 1168.
- Sultān Khwāja Naqshbandī, 61, made caravan-manager of pilgrims and sails for Mecca, 276-77, returns Court, 382, 405, homage, 547, charge of charities, 599, death, 655, d. marries P. Daniel, 806, d. born by d. Sultān Khwāja, another d., 937, his s. M. Khizr gets rank of 500.
- Do. Kharram. It is under this title that the youthful Shāh Jahān, s. Jahāngīr, appears in the Persian Index, p. 23, col. b, the A.N., Vol. III. The Ma'āṣir U. has not any separate entry under the

head Shāh Jahān, but has many references to him in its 3 vols. Shāh Jahān has various titles such as Ṣāhib Ṣānī and Firdūs Āshiyānī. Birth, 921, his m. was d. Motā Rāja, 1115, 1131, 1140, Tātār Beg made his guardian, 1177.

- Sundar Dās, serves P. Murād, 1115, 1131.
- Sunnīs and Shī'as, 399-400, 763, 803-05, 899.

Places.

- Sābarmatī, r., Gujarāt, 74, 611.
- Ṣafā (Bāgh), garden near Jalālābād, Afghānistān, 529, 543.
- Saḥatpūr, properly Ṣiḥḥatpūr, place near Tānda, where K. Jahān died, 378, 381; name means Abode of Health, probably gone into r. long since.
- Sāknī (?), r., which joined Ganges and Jamnā at Tīrmohinī. It seems to be the Saraswatī, and perhaps proper name is Shaktī, 693 and *n.* 5.
- Sambal, d. Morādābād, 51, 53, 512, 587, 600, 625, Qulīj's fief, 817, given Moẓaffar H. in lieu Qandahār, 1031.
- Sāngāuīr, 54.
- Sāpān, high hill, Deccan, 1153, 1163.
- Sāran, d., Bihar, 115, 586. Sentence omitted in my translation at p. 115. The P.T. has statement that Ḥasan Patnī or Batanī¹ had, for his good conduct,

¹ Note on Ḥasan Batanī or Patnī and Sāran, p. 115 of translation. Ḥasan Batanī was an Afghān and so at first a partisan of Sulaimān Kararānī and Daniel, but afterwards was won over by A. and Mun'im K. He appears

been given by Mun'im Sirkār Sāran in fief. See P.T., top line, p. 82. Ḥasan was an Afghān and was killed by the Yūsufzais of Chakdara, not in Khaibar as stated by B., in 1586. He is highly praised by A. F. for two things, 1st for pressing that the dam on the Pūnpūn should be broken down, 2nd for urging the capture of Ḥājīpūr. But surely Pūnpūn is a mistake for Gandak. Pūnpūn is a small r. and on s. side Ganges and joins Ganges at Fatwa, several miles below Patna. So unimportant is it that the I.G. does not separately notice it though it is described in article "Patna." Why should breaking of dam help siege Patna Fort? And if it could, what harm would ensue to Imperialists? The dam

did not exist when A. crossed the Pūnpūn! The Ṭabaqāt A. says nothing on subject, and it may here be remarked that Nizāmu-d-dīn's account of the siege of Patna is fuller and better than A. F.'s and has been well translated in Elliot, V.

Sārangarh, fort, Orissa, 941.

Sārangpūr Dewās State, C.I., 94, 310, 1192.

Sarnāl, town, Gujārāt, 18, 19 and *n.* 2, etc.

Sātgaon, mart in Bengal, 153, 169, 171, 327-28.

Serais. Many are mentioned in P.T. Index, pp. 81-82. One in Bihār called Serāi-i-Rānī, p. 472 and *n.* 1.

Seraikot Kachwa, Ambāla d. Here Mansūr Khwāja hanged. See 500 and *n.* 504. Alexander the Great quoted, 501.

to be a relative of Ḥasan Patnī or to be Ḥasan Patnī himself though the Ma'āsir calls him Fath K. Patnī or Panī. See Ma'āsir I, p. 626. A. F. speaks highly of him and especially commends him for his recommending the taking of Ḥājīpūr and the destruction of the Pūnpūn dam. But neither of these things was speedily accomplished, and the cutting of the Pūnpūn dam is to me unintelligible, unless there has been a change in the course of the Pūnpūn since A.'s time. The Pūnpūn is a small stream rising in Gaya d. and falling into the Ganges at Fatwa seven miles below Patna. We are told that Ḥasan recommended the cutting of the dam, because otherwise it would flow towards the Patna Fort and injure it. But how could the water get near that fort, and what harm would ensue to the besiegers if it did? The Pūnpūn was never a large stream, apparently, and now-a-days it is so drained away by irrigation channels that very little of it falls into the Ganges. So unimportant is the Pūnpūn that there is no article on it in the I.G., though it is noticed in the article on "Patna." In the P.T. of the A.N. it is said at p. 82, that Ḥasan was rewarded for his loyalty by being made fief-holder. Unfortunately, this statement has been inadvertently omitted in my translation. Nothing is said about the Pūnpūn dam in the I.A. and I am inclined to think that A. F. or his copyist has made a mistake and that for Pūnpūn one should read Gandak (the Great), though possibly the river meant is the Guntī which joins the Ganges near Chunār. The dam on the Gandak might prevent the Imperialists from boating up the river in order to capture Ḥājīpūr. It never was necessary for them to take the Patna Fort, for Dāūd abandoned it after Ḥājīpūr was taken!

Shādī, route, Afghānistān, 783.

Shadīwāl, vill., Gujarāt, Panjāb.

A. encamps at, his thoughts, 332-33.

Shāhdara, near Lahore, 818 and *n.* 1.

Shāhgarha, Deccan, wonderful *nīm* tree, 1138-39, 1143.

Shāhpūr, Deccan, city founded by P. Murād, 1052, 1070, 1074, 1116, 1126, 1128, 1141, P.T. 864, his womankind sent Court.

Shahrārā (Bāgh), Kābul city, 539, 542, 858.

Shāhzādī, 983.

Shāhzādpūr, 674 and *n.* 8.

Sherpūr, in Bihār, 146, 479. Sherpūr in Mymensingh Atā, 600 and *n.* 1. Sherpūr in Bograh, 622 and *n.* 3, 660 and *n.* 3, 698. Sherpūr on Jamnā, the Sherpūr Feringhī of *n.* 2, 673, and 674.

Shihābu-d-dīnpūr, beautiful spot, Kashmīr, 829 and *n.* 1.

Sihrind or Sirhind, 360, gardens of, 546 and 705, great flood at, 761.

Sind and Sīwistān, 776, 917-21, 925, 929-31, 938, plague, 939. At p. 939, line 10, for "comage" read coinage, 941-42, 971-79, 1013.

Srīnagar, cap. Kashmīr, 770, 827 and *n.* 1, 840, 955-56, 1085, lunar rainbow, 1090.

Stars, 300 little ones (? Meteors), 616.

Sūrat, 16, 24-27, Christians appear at, 37 and *n.* 1, fort taken, 39-41.

Swāt or Swād, tract in Chitral Agency, N.W. Frontier, see Vol. III, A.N., pp. 216, 166, where for "tracts of Bajaur" read "Swād and Bajaur," 715, 717, Birbar sent

to, 719, 727, Zain K. conquers, 726-27, again sent to, 802, Swād conquered, 810-12, 828, 957.

T

Including the letters ٹ (tā) and طوی (toī).

Persons.

Tāj K. Afghān, s. Yūsuf Dāūd's cousin, killed by Dāūd, 31.

Do. Jalaurī, 266-67.

Do. e.b. Sulaimān Kararānī, 647 and *n.* 3.

Do. Panwār, 192, 197-98.

Do. 972, P.T. 803, his s. killed, 804, goes Tīrah, 1222, punishes 'Alīzais, 1238, made Khān, 1247.

Takhta Beg, see B. and M. Umarā I, 481, serv. M. Hakīm, afterwards joins A., 713, 783, 792, 853, gets fief Ghaznī, 867, 984, 998, 1051, A. sends saffron seeds to, 1064.

Tān Sen of Gwālīor, musician, dies 816.

Tāra C. Khwāṣ, member personal retinue, 69, 80, 467, *bakhshī*, 779.

Tārīkīs, Afghān sect, 966 and *n.* 1, 983, 1051, 1066, 1104, 1114, P.T. 776, 782, 795.

Tarkhān dīwāna, 693.

Tarkhāns, privileges of, 973-75.

Tarsūn K., nephew Saifu-l-Mulk, see B. 342. Given Bhakkar, 129, 266, 267, P.T. 264, given Jaunpūr, 410, 422, 452-53, 467, 476, 483, 485, 567, 590, 593, 619-20, 625, dies, 645, 651, his s., 935. See also M. Umarā I, 471.

Note to Tarsūn K., 645. The reference in *n.* 2 to pp. 257 and 260 is wrong and should be deleted. This leads me to *n.* 2, on same p. about Bhātī.

Tāsh Beg, Qūchīn, rebel, 450, 713, 720, 778, 794, sent against 'Isākhel, 1031, 1084, 1195.

Tātār K. Ghāzī, 936, his s. killed, 7.

Telī Rajāh, wrongly printed as Tiblī in P.T., p. 108. He was an oilman by caste and is supposed to be the founder of Teliyāgarh on the Bengal frontier. It is in the Sonthāl Parganas. See I.G., XXIII, 175, and A.N. translation, 151 and n. 1.

Todar Mal (Rājah), A.'s Finance-Minister, born Laharpūr, Oude, B. 620, sent examine Sūrat Fort, 24 and n. 2, sent to Mun'im K. in Bihār, 58, charge Agra, 62, to settle Gujarāt, 91, reports, 93, 95, 98, 101, 111, 131, makes report, 133, 144, at Tānda, 169-79, 183-85, brings elephants, 222, 229-30, 250-53, imprisons Shāh Manṣūr, 273, does homage, 277, sent Gujarāt, 280, charge Gujarāt, 292-94, persuades Wazīr K. to fight rebels, gains victory, 294, joins A. at Basāwar (which seems to be the Baswa of I.G., VII, 132 and of the Rājputāna map of I.G. Atlas), 300, charge of Wazīrship, do. Perhaps, A. F. puns on the Wazīr or Vizier K.'s name. This Wazīr was not satisfactory. See B. 473, and Ma'āsir U. article on T. M., II, 123. T. M.'s idol-worship, 310, T. M. has charge Bengal mint, 321 and n. 3, fills Anūp tank, 352, 357, in Panjāb, 358, 407, 414, 422, 462, 467, 470, 473, 476, 485, does homage, 545, opinion about most beneficial act, 559, 560, charge elephants, 585, 599, 606, entertains A., 661, 672, to act under Fath Ullāh's

advice, 687, 696, 705, attends P. Murād, 733, 736, writes R. Bāsū, 777, 786, wounded by assassin, 792-93. My translation omits parenthesis about T. M.'s having punished the young Khetrī for misconduct. M.U. says T. M. attacked in palanquin. A. F. says A. cured T. M. by *Gīradam*, breathing on him. The year was 32nd of reign. T. M. gets leave but is recalled, 858, d. and character, 861-62, 876. Todar Mal died on 28 Ābān 998 A.H.=8 November 1589, p. 861. It was the 34th year of the reign. In the 33rd year he had a dispute with Sa'id K., p. 807, is recalled, 858, death (at Lahore) and character, 861-62. Dhārī has an audience, 876.

It is commonly said that T. M. made a settlement of Kashmīr, and the I.G., VII, 93, says Todar Mal made a very summary record. But this does not appear correct. A. F. nowhere says the Rājah made a settlement of Kashmīr, and it appears to me he never was in that country. The first settlement of Kashmīr was made by 'Abdul Majīd (Āṣaf K. No. 1 of B.). Afterwards Yūsuf K. made a settlement, B. 346. Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī and others also made a settlement. This was after T. M.'s death, and indeed he had for some years before been past work. See Badayūnī. The point is important, for the settlement of Kashmīr was arbitrarily and badly made and led to a rebellion. T. M. was in no way responsible for this, though perhaps A. F.'s e.b. Faizī was to some extent res-

possible. A. F. nowhere says in the *Āin* or in the historical part of the A.N. that Todar Mal was ever in Kashmīr, or made any settlement of it. B. says Todar Mal died at Lahore. But this is not quite certain. He had got leave from A. and was on his road to Hardwār, but then a second letter came from A. intimating that it was better to go on working and doing good to the world than to go on pilgrimage. We do not know when and where this reached T. M. But he turned back and died in the beginning of 998 (11 Muḥarram). His body was burnt, apparently, at Lahore, and Rājah Bhagwān Dās, his colleague in the charge of Lahore, was present at the ceremony. See A.N., III, p. 570. A. was at Kābul near Bārīk Āb when the news of Todar Mal's death arrived. His death took place on 3 Āzar (middle November, 1589). Two sons are spoken of. One, Dhārī, was killed in battle in Sind. Another, Kalyān Dās, was sent by T. M. to bring in the Kumāon Rājah, p. 812. He was left in charge Lahore, 817.

Places Ū (*Tā*).

Tānda. Ganges divides here into two branches, 153 and *n.* 2, 169, 186, 227, 228, Dāūd's head gibbeted at, 255, 328, 378, 428,

442 and *n.*, Moẓaffar takes refuge in, 447, 567, 625, 695, 1023, Tatta cap. Sind, 127, 149, arrival of M. 'Alī Jān, 776, ambassadors' audience, 889, 929, 973, Tatta restored M. Jānī, 986.

Tibet and little Tibet, i.e. Bāltistān, 117, 647, ambassadors to, 838, 844, 847, 850, envoys return, 860, d. sent by 'Alī Rāi, ruler Tibet, to be married to Selīm (Jahāngīr), 921, 1067, 'Alī Zād, ruler Bāltistān, 1091.

Persons طوی (*Toī*).

Tāhir (*Shāh*). List of officers who died at Gaur from disease, 227 and *n.* 1.

Do. Beg, 1061.

Do. historian, Tāhir Khwājajī, 631 and *n.* 2.

Tahmāsp *Shāh* of Persia, 316, 820, 886, 896, 1021.

Do. Mīrzā, 900, 1031.

Tahmūras, e.s. P. Daniel, 1246, 1254. He was put to death in the beginning of *Shāh* Jahān's reign by Āṣaf K. See Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā, I, 156 and 714. The date was January, 1628.

Tālib (Mullā) or Bābā Tālib of Ispahān, a poet, 798, envoy Tibet, 838 and notes 2 and 3, returns, 860, 1091. On 860, for Mullā Tālib Mihtar Yārī read "Tālib Mihtar Yārī" (for they are two distinct persons). For Bābā Tālib or Tālib K., see B. 607 and *n.* 2. He lived to over one hundred.¹

¹ There are three entries under places beginning with *Toī*, but they are of no consequence and so I have not recorded them. See P.T., Vol. I, p. 84.

EXCURSUS.

P. 645. The references as note 2 to pp. 257 and 260 are wrong and should be deleted.

U

Udai Karn, landholder, Jītāran, 193.

The variant Champāran is probably the correct reading.

Do. Singh, g.s. Motā Rājah, 595, 632 and n. 3, 655, 681, 684.

Udaipūr, Rānā's country, 57, 275, taken, 340, 1158.

Ujjain, Gwālior, 93, 264, flood from Sīprā r., 830, Shihābu-d-dīn A. dies there, 885, 961, 1045.

Ulugh Beg, astronomer, of Samarkand, 642.

Do. Khān, Abyssinian, 9, 201, 295, 422, his neglect, 473, 476,

490, 574, his sons, 935, 941, 1169.

Ulugh K., 325, 326, 452-53, 460, 467, 941.

Do. Mīrzā Kābulī, massacres Yūsufzais, 715, 733, (another, 745, 1103).

‘Umrī (Shaikh), real name Ḥasan Beg, or Ḥusain Beg, he was a Badakhshī and, apparently, he or his father had been in Bābur's service, and so was styled ‘Omar or ‘Umar Shaikh. He was distinguished in A.'s reign, and held Paklī; he was cruelly put to death

A. F.'s account, p. 432, P.T., is obscure, and Professor Dowson has the remark at p. 73 of the 6th volume of Elliot's "History of India" that "the whole description is unintelligible." But I think that part of this obscurity is due to Dowson's misreading of the Persian text. He translates: "On the west was the hill country south of Tānda." I do not know if Dowson used the Bib. Ind. edition of the Akbar Nāma. Probably he did, for the words in his note agree with the Bib. Ind. ed. p. 432, ten lines from foot. But they do not support his translation, for they mean "the hill-country of the Khyīn (?)* tribe; on the south is Tānda;" see my notes pp. 645-47. The Bib. Ind. text then adds: "On the south is Tānda, and on the north is the Ocean!" Obscurity however is caused by the conjunction "also" in "on the north also." What however the passage means is clear enough: "Tānda lies south of Bhātī and on the north is the Ocean (or salt sea)," that is the upper part of the Bay of Bengal. Perhaps, however, A. F. meant that Tānda and the Bay of Bengal were both south and north of Bhātī, for this would be correct. The southern part of Sylhet would be north of Bhātī and the Bay of Bengal was partly north of Tānda and partly south of it. In making these remarks I do not wish to say anything disparaging about Dowson, who was a good scholar and who did good work on Elliot's History.

I must add that exceedingly great as was Abu-l-Fazl's industry and very grateful to him as we all should be for his gigantic labours, I do not think that geographical knowledge was his strong point. The want of maps must have been a great drawback to him. I doubt also if he ever was in Bengal or Bihar. His account of the Pūnpūn dam is vague, and I think wrong, and so also is his account of the Bahīra Mint-town.

* See my note 4, p. 586. I believe that A. F. means the Khās or Cossyah tribe, i.e. the inhabitants of the Cossyah Hills. They are therefore allied to the Santāls; see I.G., I, 296 and VI, 44 and 46. A. F.'s word may however be Khyīn or Chīn and be an allusion to an Arracanese tribe. See p. 587, note.

by Jahāngīr as being a partizan of Khasrū. See pp. 776, 798, 855, 867, 874-75, 944-5, 946, 957, 1005-06, 1023, 1030; the spelling 'Umrī in translation should be 'Umarī Abdu-r-Raḥīm, dīwān Lahore suffered at the same time, but survived his agony. See Jahāngīr's Mem. and Ma'āṣir U. I, 565 and B. 454.

'Umarkot Fort, Sind, A.'s birth-place, October 1542, 919, captured by Dalpat and Rāwal Bhīm, 924 and *n.* 2. See I.G., XXIV, 117.

Un'dah (Orchha), 324.

'Urfī, poet, death and verses, 907 and *n.* 2.

Uzbegs, a C. Asian tribe, *passim*. A. did not like them and abhorred their national vice. Nor did the Uzbegs and Qāqshāls and other C. Turkomāns willingly ever be in A.'s service. Neither 'Abdullāh K. Uzbek (see B. 320), nor the two brothers Khān Zamān Bahādur, nor Wazīr Beg Jamīl (Ma'āṣir III, 928) were satisfactory servants; see B. 369 and *n.* 2.

W

Wāḥid Ṣūfī, visited by Yūsuf, King Kashmīr, 774 and *n.* 3, A. F. visits, 832, 833, A. visits him at Kanabal, 837 and *n.* 2.

Walī (M.), kills Pāyinda K., 1225, P.T. 817.

Wazīr K., of Herāt, b. 'Abdul Majīd, 66, 235-36, 280, 292-93, 301-02, removed, 306, made Vizier, 462, sent Oudh, 327, P.T. 543. Several unimportant entries follow here. Magh ruler

sends presents, 722, given Bengal, 779, dies at Tānda, 801 and *n.* 1, 813.

Do. Beg Jamīl, B. 473, 145, 199, a rebel, 429, 432, 446, 449, 593, 645, 705.

Y

Yādgār Sultān Shāmlū, ambassador of Sultān Khudā-banda, does homage, 893-94 and notes 2 and 3.

Do. (bald), cousin of M. Yūsuf K., 945 and *n.* 1, 946, p. 953; at the top of P.T., p. 623, has a passage which I do not fully understand. The words "the head-strong Kul or Kal" refer to Yūsuf's cousin Yādgār who is styled, apparently, "the bald," and are in the original *Kal-i-ziyāda sir bādāfarāh yāfta* as had come to his deserts; in other words, Yādgār the bald had been found in the jungle, with his head cut off. But I am not sure of the meaning. Further on, in p. 953, we are told that one Shāh-bāz K. Niyāzī cut his (Yādgār's) head off. See p. 654 of translation and notes 1 and 2.

Yahyā S., Manerī, a saint, 132 and *n.* 6.

Do. Khwāja Naqshbandī Mīr Hāj (pilgrims' guide), 293, 569-70, 1185-86.

Ya'qūb K. Kashmīrī, comes Court, 846.

Yūsuf K. Rezavī (Mīrzā), a Saiyid of Mashhad, s. Mīr Aḥmad, B. 346; 120, 125, 129, 144, 146, 149, sent Panjāb, 237, 332, 335, 409, 493, at Rohtās, 507, A. visits, 514, 518, 535, 559, charge camels, 585, 637, rank 2,500, 687, charge Bihār, 701, 779, sent in charge Kashmīr, 796, 798, 822-24, 853, does homage, 871, 880, makes assessment Kashmīr, 830, officers employed Qāzī 'Alī and Qāzī Nūrullah, see A.N., III, 548, and Ma'āṣir U. III, 314; Yūsuf taken as Yūsuf, a servant, 907, 944, 946, Yūsuf put in charge of A. F., 947, 950, 959-60, given Jaunpūr in fief, 1004, artillery officer, 1015, 1020, allowed go Gujarāt, 1064 (having refused accept increased assessment of Kashmīr), made guardian P. Murād, 1081, death at Jalnapūr, 1010, A.H., 1601 A.D.

Yūsufzai, large Afghān tribe, 715-16, 717, defeat A.'s army, 725-33, tribe punished, 750, sold as slaves, 800, 802, 810, 812, 850, 867 and 956-57, tribe submits, 984.

Z

Zābulistān, old name for Afghānistān, see P. Index, p. 81 and Āin Akbarī, Jarrett, 408 of Vol. II. The name was used for Ghaznī and for Rustam's country of Sīstān or Nīmroz.

Zāhid, s. Šādiq K., 645, 1141.

Zain K. Koka, s. Khwāja Maqṣūd and Picha Jān Anaga, and a foster b. of A. See B. 344, 69, 83, 128, in Kābul, 53, in charge oil, 585, Bihār, 591, 599, 636, rank 2,500, 687, Afghānistān, 715-17, 720-33, against Tārīkīs, 777-84, Zābulistān restored to, 790, 802, 806, conquers Swāt, 810, 812-13, Siālkot given to, 817, 823, 835 and n. 1, made guardian P. Parvez (a relative by marriage), 875, 880, 884, rank 4,000 with drums, 889 (on p. 884, read Zain instead of Qain), 916, 947, 956-57, 966-67, 982-83, 986, 1029, A. visits him, 1044, rank 5,000, 1049, Selīm marries Zain K.'s d., A. displeased (why so, does not appear), 1058, Zain sent Kābul, 1073, 1104, mother dies, P.T. 819. B. says Zain died in 1010 (1601), and partly from drink. For Zain's biography, see Ma'āṣir U. II, 362.

Zainu-l-Ābidīn, Sultān Kashmīr, also called Baddu Shāh, 7 and n. 2, 821 and n. 2.

Zain Lānkā, an island in lake Wular, with Groynes and other buildings made by the Sultān mentioned above. See also n. 1, and I.G., Vol. XXIV, p. 387. My translation of p. 1088 wrongly has Lain for Zain and Ghrīb for Ghrāb.

EXCURSUS.

There is a good deal of confusion about the three or four persons who all bore the name of Yūsuf, and who were connected with Kashmīr in the last days of its independence. Part of this is due to the pedantry of A. F. who insists on calling the last King of Kashmīr Yūsuf K. instead of Yūsuf Shāh. He seems to have been well entitled to the name of King, for he was son of the 'Alī K. Chāk who was King of Kashmīr and was accidentally killed while playing

polo. And when the latter died, he seems to have been recognized by the people of Kashmīr as their king. Indeed, A. F. himself calls him, in his list of kings in the *Āin Akbarī*, Jarrett, p. 380, Yūsuf Shāh and makes him have two reigns. See also the *Ma'āṣir U.* III, 954. Then there was the Yūsuf Reḡavī who was a Persian Saiyid and never seems to have been more than a farmer of Kashmīr under Akbar, though B. speaks of him as governor of Kashmīr. He ended his days in the Deccan. He is described in B. 346 as Mīrzā Yūsuf K., s. Mīr Aḥmad Reḡavī. He is the Yūsuf K. of B. 480, and B. tells us that he must not be confounded with No. 388. But it seems to me that B. must have written this caution after he had made the confusion; for, the M. Y. K. of B., whose people assumed a threatening attitude, must be, I think, not the Reḡavī M. Y. K., but the Yūsuf Chāk who became King of Kashmīr. The Persian Index also has confounded the two Yūsufs, for the Reḡavī never got a fief in Bihār. Nor can the Reḡavī, I think, be the M. Y. K. who, according to B. 347, was reinstated at Selīm's request. Yūsuf Shāh had a son Ya'qūb who also became king of the country for a short time. Then there was another Yūsuf who was only a servant of Yādgār the bald man and who was killed by A.'s men. Yūsuf Shāh is the Yūsuf K. Kashmīrī of the *Ma'āṣir U.* III, 954, who is said, at p. 956, l.c., to have been put under the charge of Todar Mal. I have said elsewhere that Todar Mal probably was never in Kashmīr, and I do not think this statement is contradicted by the above statement that Yūsuf Shāh was put in charge of T. M.; for, even if this was so, it does not follow that Todar Mal ever was in Kashmīr. For, Yūsuf Shāh escaped after he was put under arrest, and got himself recognized as king of the country.

ERRATA AND ADDENDA

TO PAGES 1 TO 22

OF

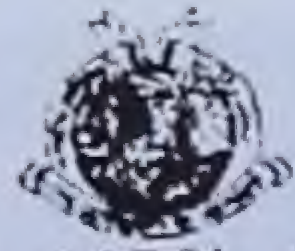
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„ 21, „ 2, „ 4	„ „	„ Dāsr'	„ Dās
„ 21, „ 2, „ 2	„ „	„ Akbarnaga	„ Akbarnagar
„ 22, „ 1, „ 25-27	„ T.,	„ “Bhath'i or Bhilti or Bhaltah, territory in Baghalpur Central Ind. and n. 2, 966, 1042.”	read “Bhat'h or Bhet'h or Bhattah or Pannah, territory in Bandelkhand, Central India, 966 n. 3.”
„ 22, „ 2, „ 1	„ „	„ Nagarkote	read Nagarkot
„ 22, „ 2, „ 9	„ „	„ 727-828	„ 727-728
„ 22, „ 2, „ 11	„ „	delete quarrels	
„ 22, „ 2, „ 13	„ „	for Bishanpur	read Bishnupur



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CHAPTER CXXIX.

ŞĀDIQ K. IS VICTORIOUS WITH THE HELP OF THE ŞĀHINŞĀH'S
FORTUNE.

When M. 'Alī Beg Akbar Şāhī prevailed, the Nizāmu-l-Mul-
kīyān made in revenge a new plan (paimān). Khudāwand K.,
Hamīd K., 'Abdu-l-fattāh, Azhdar K., Jamāl K., Dastūr K., and
others collected 10,000 men and nearly eighty elephants, and re- 715
solved upon battle. Though the imperial troops did not amount to
3000, yet, on the encouraging words of their general, they set their
hearts on fighting. In the centre were Şādiq K., Sanwal Dās,
Muḥammad Jān Beg, Maulānā Maḥmūdī, and other brave men. In
the right wing were M. Khan, Saiyid Bāyazīd, 'Izzat K., Malik
Rādhān and others. Şāh Qulī and Tāhir Aurganjī were on the
flank, and on the left wing were I'tibār and others. In the van-
guard were M. 'Alī Beg, Dost (s. Şādiq) and others. Mīr Ḥusainī and
others were the archers (*uqcīgarī*).¹ They prepared for battle, 40
kos from Maḥkar, and halted 8 *kos* from Pāthri on the bank of the
Bān² Ganga. Having that river in front, and a stream behind, they
had a strong position for their camp. On 7 Āzar, 17 November,
1596, they drew up their forces and set their hearts on fighting.
First, Khudāwand K. with 5,000 horse and 40 elephants fought in
the van. M. 'Alī Beg displayed masterpieces of battle with a few
men, and defeated them. Dost,³ and Saiyid Lād and Ḥasan⁴
showed valour and fell wounded. The right wing⁵ on account of

¹ Though this word properly means archery, it probably here stands for skirmishers. See Irvine's A. of M. 226 and 91. See also Timur's Institutes, p. 389.

² That is, the Godavery. But there is also a tributary of the Godavery known as Penganga.

³ Şādiq's son, says the Iqbāl-nāma. See B. 357.

⁴ Text Aḥasan. I follow the Iqbāl-nāma.

⁵ The Iqbāl-nāma seems to make it the enemy's right wing that fled, but this does not seem to be correct.